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Ryzhkov Interviewed During CEMA Session

LD0901225590 Prague Television Service in Czech 2100 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Despite the fact that the CEMA session in Sofia, like all the previous ones, is not open to the public, and is strictly guarded by the Bulgarian organizers from journalists' cameras and tape recorders, we succeeded in putting a question to Nikolay Ryzhkov during the break:

[Begin recording] [Unidentifed reporter] In your view, on what principles is it possible to reform CEMA?

[Ryzhkov, in Russian, fading into Czech translation] Our view will be made known today in the speech by the head of the Soviet delegation. We think that CEMA is necessary. However, it must be a different CEMA, operating on quite different principles. The basis of this reform will be a changeover to world prices. This will be the first thing.

The second problem is that the so-called transferable ruble is not convertible, and there is no realistic hope that it will become convertible in the near future. Therefore, we want a change to a freely convertible currency for mutual payment in 1991. Naturally, this stage will be gradual. It cannot be done from day to day because it would create considerable economic instability in many member countries of the Council, simply by the fact, among other things, that it would be advantageous for some and not for others. Therefore we think that it must be a gradual process. Similar views have been voiced today, for example by the GDR representatives, who speak about 3 years—it is the same proposal as ours. In our view this process will be gradual, and it will need 2-3 years.

[Reporter] The USSR's proposal basically corresponds to our ideas, too. If CEMA introduces payment in freely convertible currencies for the current world prices it will mean a profit for the USSR and a loss for Czechoslovakia, as a country exporting industrial products, but it will create necessary economic pressure to make our production efficient, and we hope that consequently our products will be able to stand up better to competition on world markets. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Medgyessy on Proposed CEMA 'Inner Circle'

LD1001120590 Budapest MTI in English 1136 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (MTI)—CMEA [CEMA] member countries hold very different views on how the organization should be developed further, Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister, Peter Medgyessy, told MTI at the Sofia session of the economic grouping.

The CMEA is still a very heterogeneous organization, but the individual political intentions are now closer to one another than before. Some countries have committed themselves to fundamental political and economic reforms, but their conceptions on economic development show fewer similarities. While some countries have started to establish a market-based economy, others, short of even having started out towards this aim, have even opposed it.

The only solution is offered by the establishment of an inner circle of integration. At the same time, we should not renounce the existing advantages of the CMEA, even if these are not too great, Mr Medgyessy said. It cannot yet be specified which countries will form the inner circle: Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Poland, or other countries too. So far, Hungarian Government representatives have only held preliminary talks with the countries concerned, but genuine talks will also be required in the two months to come. Specifying the features on the basis of which the small integration can be organized is a very important task.

There have been no preliminary talks with the Soviet Union on the planned economic grouping within the CMEA. So far, the Soviet Government has shown no signs of ill-feeling or opposition to the plans, and the Hungarian proposal has not provoked any controversy at the Sofia session.

Mr Medgyessy said Hungary had an interest in developing cooperation with all economic groupings. The practice that CMEA membership leads to isolation from other economic groupings should be discarded, he added. Under quadrilateral cooperation, the Hungarian Government seeks to develop relations with Austria, Italy and Yugoslavia.

Hungary will not leave the CMEA, but is looking for ways of fundamentally overhauling the organization. Until it is renewed, Hungary will focus on developing its ties within the inner circle. Hungary is also interested in the rapid development of relations with EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and the Common Market.

Roman's Address to CEMA Session

AU1001185590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1732 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Romanian Premier Petre Roman's Address at the CMEA Meeting in Sofia"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/01/1990—In his address to the CMEA meeting in Sofia, Romania's Prime Minister Petre Roman thanked and expressed feelings of gratitude for the friendly countries' solidarity with and support to the Romanian revolution and underscored the importance of that support at a time when the fate of the revolution had not been decided. I came here with the Romanians' warm, wholehearted feelings for everything your support meant, he said.

Showing that was the first time representatives of European countries where real, deep-going democratic changes took place, Premier Roman said the current session should reflect the newly created situation. There is consensus on this aspect. What we need is an open

dialogue, free from formalism, since we obviously represent a number of interests deriving from the objective state of our countries' economic and social development, from our traditional bilateral and regional relations.

Petre Roman further said: Let us discuss basic problems. In this respect, the first question is: Does the CMEA reflect the newly-created situation in Europe? It probably does not. Since deep-going economic reforms are under way in all East-European countries then it is also necessary to make a reform within the CMEA. We speak about a transition period that is to follow. A transition period that makes sense only to the extent to which we will find ways to form a structure wherein the interests of each country should be met substantially and, within certain limits, equally distributed.

Referring to the situation in Romania, Prime Minister Roman pointed out that the carryover from the dictatorship was burdensome, that the country's economy went through a serious crisis entailed by a disbalance between and within branches, that the operative task was to find a way out of that crisis by employing existing structures with great competence and intelligence and without prejudice. He said the first steps were being taken towards decentralization, that modalities of striking a corresponding ratio between the plan and the market and of autonomizing the enterprises were looked into, in an attempt at ensuring political and economic stability on the basis of national consensus.

We further count on the friendly countries' support to thus be able to use the huge production capacities that had been built without an economic substantiation but which are there despite the low level of resources, he said.

Agreeing to the proposals made by the participants in the meeting for a rethinking of the CMEA structure, Petre Roman pointed out that Romania was willing to develop bilateral links, something which can be attained faster and far more efficiently. In connection with CMEA issues world and European integration the Romanian Premier said: obviously, the weight of the national economies of the cema member countries is unequal as an outcome of an objective state of affairs. [sentence as received] There were and there are advantages linked to the substantial energy and raw materials resources that could be taken by Central-European countries, Romania included. However, we must admit that this and other situations placed us within the framework of a thinking wherefrom the country's own effort to rally to the revolution in science and technology, to courageously approach high technologies and ensure a real economic dynamism was virtually eliminated. Obviously, this is the key to a higher living standard for our peoples. From this point of view, we were the tail of the world process of renewal a result of the revolution in science and then in technology. To an ever greater extent, military confrontation is being eliminated from the world practice and we should welcome the Soviet Union's initiatives, the understandings with the United States and other countries.

Obviously, to be able to take part in the world market one must also really take part in the international division of labor, whose basis is only the scientific and technological standard of every national economy. We will never be able to leave our position behind without a rapid integration into the European and world process of revolutionizing technologies that should incorporate a larger amount of intelligence into products, which eliminate energy and materials consumption.

We still work with obsolete, unrealistic concepts and formulations. We were not able to find other concepts because, as I have already told you, we were, to a large extent, a body of decisions that could not be reached. Are our interests compatible? We think so, as we do have a clear idea of the final image.

Showing that the Executive Committee's report to the session referred to integration projects and objectives, the Romanian Prime Minister said: we do not have any prejudices as concerns the notion of integration, the way it happened in the case of the old regime in Romania, but we do not find it attractive either, as long as it lacks a clear, unanimously accepted content.

Showing that bilateral cooperative relations had been and still were the major form of cooperation, as they may be operatively adapted to the specific and palpable interests of all partners, Petre Roman said: undoubtedly, there are areas of multilateral cooperation, there are conventions under way. We must carry them through more openly, more efficiently. There are areas where the CMEA made a useful contribution specialization, standardization. Let us further use them, let us define them better. This will allow a number of production units to be used at capacity in each country because, probably, a number of production units correspond much better to the situation within the CMEA than that in the common market or in other markets. Forms and mechanisms of mutual cooperation for the next two or three years should be analyzed. We should use the experience acquired in each country to promote the reforms and renewals each one of them undergoes.

We want economic units and enterprises to truly have the capacity to administer their heritage, to commit themselves to relations with partners within the CMEA, and, in general, in all markets. In this respect, the problem of the covertibility of national currencies, of payment in convertible currency, of the level of prices in relationship with world prices should be solved to thus genuinely liberalize commercial exchanges.

Concluding his address, Premier Petre Roman referred to environmental questions. Showing that the CMEA countries had accumulated the most acute problems in that area, he insisted on the need for cooperation through palpable steps taken in each country. Pollution technologies and even the strategy of depollution can

and must be objects for consultation and cooperation so we may rally to the process of eliminating polluting sources which is very active in developed countries, he said.

Vietnamese Delegate CEMA Session Speech

BK1001152890 Hanoi VNA in English 1453 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Hanoi VNA January 10—The Vietnamese delegation support the all-round renovation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (C.M.E.A.) [CEMA] along a new model, said Vo Van Kiet, Politburo member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, first vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the current 45th session of the C.M.E.A. in Sofia on January 9.

The Vietnamese head delegate said:

"In our view, the new model of the C.M.E.A. must be so designed as to accord it the renovation and restructuration of member countries the keynote of which is to end the managerial system of formamlistic centralized planning, and to change over to the broad use of the economic methods and the goods-money relations. This model must harmoniously combine the marco-economic regulation in the state-level relations among member countries through the creation of a suitable economic, juridical and organizational environment for broadening specialized economic integration and cooperation between production, business, scientific and technological establishments. "That model must ensure the completely voluntary participation of member countries in economic integration and cooperation measures. At the same time it must have a mechanism dynamic enough to obstruct the creativeness of each country or of bilateral or multilateral relations. That model should not be a close organization but should broaden its relations with international and regional economic organizations and take a more active part in the process of economic cooperation and labour distribution on a global scale. To this end, it is essential to have an appropriate organization. In our opinion, the essential condition is to reconsider the function, task, organizational and juridical structure of our council."

Vo Van Kiet went on: "We think that the foreign trade prices, the currency and methods of payments are crucial elements for the renovation of other elements of the cooperative mechanism aimed at ensuring the rapid renovation of the structure of goods exchange, raising the technology and quality of products, quickly increasing the volume of goods exchanged between our countries and broadening our trading and economic relations with the world". "We always give preferential treatment to the other member countries in the cooperation for tapping Vietnam's natural and labour resources in accordance with our law on foreign investment promulgated more than a year ago and in different flexible forms, especially cooperation in specialized production, cooperation among unions and associations of enterprises in the development of regional and sectoral cooperation". He went on:

"The 44th session of the C.M.E.A." he recalled, "adopted an overall program of multilateral cooperation between the European member countries and Vietnam. The aim of the program is to help Vietnam take part more deeply and broadly in the areas of specialization and mutually beneficial cooperation. However, because the program has been conducted in the framework of C.M.E.A.'s old model of organization and management, this cooperation has met with not a few difficulties and its results have been very limited. That is why we suggest that this session would ask C.M.E.A. executive committee to reconsider the program in the light of the new thinking of our cooperative mechanism and will submit it to the coming 46th session"

Atanasov, Nemeth Speak at Close of CEMA Session

AU1001202190 Sofia BTA in English 1919 GMT 10 Jan 90

["CMEA Revises Rules of the Game"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—The CMEA [CEMA] countries have actuated the mechanism of changes at the 45th session which their economic organization completed here today.

Summing up the results of the two-day discussions, Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of Bulgaria's Council of Ministers, stressed the shared conviction that the session will be a watershed in the whole development of the council and with respect to cooperation within its framework.

He singled out the unanimous agreement on the principal way in which cooperation should be renewed: by setting up real market relations to harmonize the economic interests of the individual commodity producers and of the national economies as a whole.

Mr Georgi Atanasov emphasized that irrespective of the differences and the nuances which have emerged in the countries' positions, this consensus in principle should be viewed as a tangible starting point for a successful renewal of cooperation in a direction in everybody's best interests.

"Obviously, we will have to do a lot of hard work to go ahead from agreements in principle to the formation of the elements and relationships of the new system of cooperation and to their furtherance," the Bulgarian head of government said, adding that the organisation's institutions should be the subject of a separate in-depth discussion.

"We are now still more clearly aware of the imperative to open up to the world and to get actively integrated into the world economy as the only possible way for each of our countries and for our economic community as a

whole. The transnationalization of modern business life leads to fundamentally new rules of the game, and the rules of access to the market are essential among them," Mr Georgi Atanasov emphasized.

Addressing the closing of the session, Mr Miklos Nemeth, chairman of Hungary's Council of Ministers, also assessed the session as a start towards a resolute breakthrough, and he stressed the truth which all participants realized: that the future of cooperation will be threatened unless the CMEA meets the challenge of the time.

Mr Miklos Nemeth expressed the view that the CMEA monolithic unity will disappear, that the practice of coordinating the five-year plans will be revised and that bilateral links will be assigned priority along with multilateral cooperation.

The closing event in the CMEA session was the signing of a protocol on the 45th session of the CMEA and of a protocol on accession of the Governments of Mongolia and Yugoslavia to the July 4, 1981, General Agreement on Multilateral Cooperation in the Field of Establishing a Single Standardized Base of Electronics, Special-Purpose Technological Equipment, Semiconductor and Special Materials for Their Production and on an extension and amendment of this agreement.

Further on Nemeth Speech

LD1001230390 Budapest MTI in English 2203 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (MTI)—The 45th regular session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) drew to an end in Sofia on Wednesday. At the final plenary session, the head of the Hungarian delegation also addressed the participants. Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth said it had been increasingly visible during the past decade that the organization had followed a wrong direction. "It is obvious now that the 43rd extraordinary session was not successful in reversing the process. Now, we have decided to base our cooperation on new foundations. We know that the unity of the CMEA might disappear. It is expected that in addition to multilateral cooperation, bilateral relations will gain priority."

During the course of the CMEA session, Mr Nemeth also held talks with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov. They surveyed several timely questions of bilateral relations, including the tasks required by adopting a convertible accounting system. They also touched upon the negotiations to be held soon on the schedule for pulling out the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary, for which the Hungarian Prime minister had already designated his representatives.

Messrs. Nemeth and Ryzhkov have also held a bilateral exchange of views on the principles of transforming the CMEA.

In Sofia, the Hungarian prime minister also met Hans Modrow, GDR, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, Polish, and Petre Roman, Romanian, prime ministers. Mr Nemeth was invited by Hans Modrow to pay a working visit to the GDR.

The Hungarian delegation left Sofia for Budapest during the evening hours.

Lukanov Opens CEMA Executive Committee Session

AU1001194090 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—The 133rd meeting of the CMEA [CEMA] Executive Committee was held here today.

In accordance with the agreement between the CMEA and the Government of Yugoslavia the meeting was attended by the permanent representative of Yugoslavia at the CMEA.

The meeting was opened by Mr Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Executive Committee. In compliance with the established procedure he handed the presidency of the Executive Committee to the Hungarian representative in the committee Mr Peter Medgyessy.

The Executive Committee viewed questions in connection with the organization of the work on the realization of the resolutions adopted at the 45th session of the Council.

45th CEMA Session Issues Communique

AU1001193590 Sofia BTA in English 1855 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Communique on the 45th Meeting of the Session of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance held the 45th meeting of its session in the capital of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Sofia, on January 9 and 10, 1990.

The session was attended by delegations of the CMEA [CEMA] member countries headed by the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Georgi Atanasov, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian Republic Miklos Nemeth, the first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam Vo Van Kiet, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the German Democratic Republic Hans Modrow, the vice president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic Dumaagiyn Sodnom, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Poland Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the prime minister of Romania Petre Roman, the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Nikolay

Ryzhkov, and the prime minister of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic Marian Calfa. The secretary of the CMEA Vyacheslav Sychev and representatives of the council bodies also took part in the session.

In keeping with the agreement between the CMEA and the Government of Yugoslavia, a delegation of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia headed by the member of the Federal Executive Council Branimir Pajkovic attended the proceedings of the council session. Representatives of the Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Lao People's Democratic Republic, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Nicaragua and the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia were invited and attended the session in an observer capacity.

The session was presided over by the head of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria Georgi Atanasov.

The session stressed the need of a decisive renewal of the entire system of mutual cooperation and of the mechanism of multilateral cooperation within the CMEA framework, of a radical renewal of the council's operation, of a review of its functions and purposes, of drafting a new charter to meet the modern and long-term requirements of interaction among the CMEA member countries.

The session deemed it necessary to form a special commission to consider the suggestions of the countries on the key aspects of cooperation within the CMEA framework and to work out in the shortest time drafts of new fundamental CMEA documents.

The meeting of the session was held in an atmosphere of businesslike and constructive discussion and in a spirit of mutual understanding.

Polish Economic Minister Views CEMA Reforms

LD1101022290 Warsaw PAP in English 0017 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, Jan. 10—At Poland's motion, the CMEA session has set up an extraordinary working group which is to prepare the restructuring of the organisation's statute as well as the goals and principles of its functioning.

One of the members of the group, representing Poland, is Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Marcin Swiecicki who in his interview for PAP said in part:

"Neither the Polish delegation, nor any other did propose to dissolve the CMEA. Yet, almost all of them criticised the existing state of things saying even that either there is a fundamental reform of the organisation or it will simply lose its reason to exist.

"The great acceleration of political changes and, in certain countries, of economic transformations requires a basic restructuring, not just improvements. It requires a restructuring taking account the particular countries' switching over to market economy.

"Because of great differences in the progress of reforms in different countries, the possibilities of bilateral and multilateral cooperation without the necessity of applying a uniform attitude in the whole organisation, have to be basically widened.

"The new principles of the CMEA also have to open the door to the general European integration, making it possible for different countries to enter ties with the EC or EFTA [European Free Trade Association]. There is a similar situation with the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. These organisations were joined by those CMEA countries which were interested in it, this having no impact on their cooperation with other countries.

"The session's important decision was a resolution on switching to clearings under the conditions of currency covertibility and applying world market prices. I think it was a success of the Polish delegation that the session accepted our proposal on the necessity of regulating losses which may appear due to switching to the new principles. Negotiations on these issues will be held on bilateral basis. The session failed to agree, however, what the world prices meant," the minister said.

Speaking about the tasks of the special working group, Minister Swiecicki said that till the end of February, 1990, the commission is to give proposals on the reforming of the CMEA. To Poland it is most significant that the new organisation serve general European integration, and not closing in its own circle as it was up to now.

"We also want our enterprises to have free access to the markets of other CMEA countries without being stopped by state distribution and protocols. If we attain theses goals, then, i think, our economic cooperation with the geographically closest partners will better serve our nations," the minister concluded.

Officials View Outcome of CEMA Session

Mazowiecki Assessment

LD10[illegible].30190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Warsaw Radio correspondent Marek Kassa in Warsaw on 10 January—recorded]

[Text] [Kassa] Mr Premier, there were expectations that this CEMA session would represent a turning point. Have these expectations been realized? Have they materialized?

[Mazowiecki] It is a turning point in the sense that it was decided to embark upon a radical reform of the CEMA. This remains to be seen, provided that this radical reform gets approved, the conception of this radical

reform, and if it is adopted. So far a special working party has been set up, which is to work out a conception of changes in the CEMA. And it was we who moved that it be a special working party reporting to the session and not to the Executive Committee, that is not within the present structures but on a special basis. And this group is to start its work. This concerns the direction of more market-oriented relations between the CEMA countries. It also concerns the enterprises being the main link for the conclusion of economic agreements, with this being done at state level only in some selected areas, such as raw materials, fuels, and so on. But the work of this party is going to go on for several months and only them we will know how things turn out.

[Kassa] Mr Premier, news has been reaching Poland that the talks were not proceeding with ease, that not everyone agreed on what the final shape of CEMA should be and what the individual economies should be.

[Mazowiecki] The membership of the CEMA is made up of countries at different levels of development and at different levels of progress on political reforms, and the transformation of the CEMA from the platform of, let us say, ideological association toward, well, a businesslike economic group also is not an easy process if we take this into consideration. But as far as the central European countries are concerned, here we quickly found a common language in the postulates.

PAP Reports Mazowiecki Remarks

LD1001234990 Warsaw PAP in English 2322 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, Jan 10—Asked by PAP correspondents whether the course of the 45th session of the CMEA, which ended here today, lived up to his expectations, Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki said in part:

"I think that the session was important as it focused on one basic issues—the fundamental and radical restructuring of the CMEA. The session accepted Polish delegation's motion to set up a special working group which would work out this radical reform of the CMEA. It also accepted the asusmptions that this group would be directly subordinated to the CMEA session and would present its proposals already at the nearest session. The group will work fast but still a few months.

"Differences in views, different levels of economic development and other problems and issues surfaced during the session. Yet, assuming the openness within the CMEA—between particular countries—and openness to the outside, for instance towards the EC or EFTA [European Free Trade Association], I think that we can come out of the hitherto 'clinch' and prevent the countries which have already switched to market economy from being halted by the countries with socialist and command economy," Premier Mazowiecki stated.

Also a session of the CMEA Committee for Cooperation in Planning was held here today. The Polish delegation forwarded new proposals during this meeting. Head of Poland's Central Planning Office Minister Jerzy Osiatynski told PAP that these proposals consisted in relieving the committee of the task of reviewing and coordinating work of a branch character and of operational actions. The member countries should first of all exchange information on the adopted strategy of development. Branch issues should be solved directly between interested enterprises according to the contracts and agreements signed by them.

The next CMEA session is to be held in Budapest.

CSSR's Calfa Interviewed

LD1001222990 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Interview with Federal Premier Marian Calfa by unidentified reporter—date and place not given; questions asked in Czech, Calfa's replies in Slovak]

[Text] [Reporter] Mr. Premier, it was not the proposals for restructuring, but the proposals for a striking, radical—absolutely radical—change in the functioning of the whole mechanism of the CEMA which were brought by the Czechoslovak delegation to Sofia. Have you succeeded in pushing these proposals through?

[Calfa] Well, the session only finished a few minutes ago. I am able to say that we put forward all of the proposals that we brought with us, and that we very resolutely demanded that they be put into effect. According to the outcome of the discussion and according to that which was included in the final decisions, we think that we suceeded in asserting the basic trend, that is, the view that it is necessary to radically change CEMA's work, its functions, the mutual relations between the CEMA member states, and ultimately also the work of the CEMA apparatus. We succeeded in enforcing this, and this was also written into the conclusions.

[Reporter] In this connection did any marked differences appear in the approach and in the reasoning of individual delegations, whether in the course of the meeting or today during the formulation of the conclusions, in the protocols?

[Calfa] Of course they appeared. After all, at one table sat ten CEMA member states with varied national economic levels, with various positions on the world map, and with varied mutual relations at the present time. The basic feature is that the CEMA European member states are, without exception, aware of the need to change the forms and methods of the work, as I already said. The assessment of the CEMA's work by some non-European CEMA member states differed a little. I must say that it was far from being as negative as ours, but this results from the fact that in its present form, the CEMA has helped them considerably and according to our conceptions this help will not be so massive. This means that these states in that bloc had rather different ideas. I must, of course, say that even among the CEMA member

states there were different views, especially as far as the time factor is concerned, as far as the stages of the changes in the CEMA are concerned. This proceeds from the intrastate situation, too. In this respect we were evidently the most radical, because the way that we understand acceleration in our homeland is that we count our actions in hours and days, while they are still counting them in monthly and six-monthly periods and this, indeed, is unsatisfactory for us. We proposed that all of these matters should be wrapped up in the first 6 months of this year. We did not succeed in making this a part of the conclusion, but we shall be pushing for these periods in the course of the work procedure.

[Reporter] The most dramatic change is the change in accounting of mutual trade in the direction of freely convertible currency from 1991. Under what conditions is Czechoslovakia willing to accept this?

[Calfa] Well, we are of the opinion—it is in fact a Soviet proposal—we are of the opinion that it is a correct proposal and in fact it is a proposal which in a certain way normalizes the activity of the CEMA; that is, the proposal is to convert the CEMA from its current closed structure with very specific relations in this financial area, into an open organization with a system of finance which is generally known in the world and in all world economic communities. That is, accounting using world prices and using freely convertible currency.

Naturally, this process must be taken in stages. Our opinion is that the optimum transition time is 3-4 years for complete accounting in this way, namely because we are concerned about our bilateral economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. While with regard to other members states of the CEMA this transition would not create problems, with regard to the Soviet Union there are certain complications in the fact that the Soviet Union supplies Czechoslovakia with enormous ammounts of oil and gas and that is, in fact, an enourmous sum both in material and money. It is necessary to calculate how much all of this would cost. On the other hand, we supply the Soviet Union with our machinery and consumer goods which are over valued. This means that if we introduced world prices then the prices of our commodities would go down and at that instant we would find ourselves in a certain unequal position.

But of course, it is not only a question of prices because it is naturally also a question of other economic connections. The Soviet market is a closed market for our organizations. So if we transferred to this system of payment, at the same time it would be necessary to solve a number of other economic matters connected with this. For example, the opening of this market, and converting trade to the level of organizations, and not as we have it today, in the majority of cases, on the level of the state.

[Reporter] Thank you.

Hungary's Nemeth Comments

LD1001230290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The plane carrying the Hungarian prime minister has landed. Andras Domany interviewed Miklos Nemeth:

[Begin recording] [Domany] The communique that was finally adopted is little more than a compromise, less sharp than the things you and others voiced. Do you hope that this emergency committee will really renew CEMA within the next few months, or will there be another [word indistinct] that does not materialize?

[Nemeth] You have asked me what I hope, so I must say that it is more than a hope, it is a necessity. If the approach continues to be the same old one of placing the CEMA onto new foundations [and not] for a radical renewal of the whole organization—we are talking about its being placed onto the pillars of the market—should this not take place, the negative effects which are already appearing and which are related to the current mechanisms, today's practice, and which is in the interest of no member country, the negative effects...[changes thought] Thus I trust that during the time of the Hungarian presidency, we shall have greater means and opportunities to influence this process than if we were outsiders, invited ones.

[Domany] It is lucky that we are scheduled for the presidency.

[Nemeth] It is an accident, because the scheduling takes place alphabetically. Still, history produces such accidents, and we would like to make use of this opportunity given by history.

[Domany] Many ask if it would be a really bad thing if the CEMA fell apart. After all, you too have said that this organization is useless and fails to achieve its aim. Why should there be an insistence on its reformation, that there should be something?

[Nemeth] Because there are certain objective facts; it is enough if I refer to the area of raw material and energy deliveries, which vary from country to country, but by and large the closeness of the economic links may be measured at around 50-70 percent. To switch this or shunt it over onto another rail belongs, I think, to the sphere of fantasy. Thus we must work with these facts. What must be achieved and the way this organization must be renewed is like the practice in Hungary—the public jargon there—that it must be financially reorganized [szanalni] but not liquidated, that instead of the computation of poverty, or instead of its redistribution, we should really construct the mechanism of advantageous cooperation, and that this organization should become one. We have not achieved this yet.

[Domany] When will this evolve? when will the decision as to what should take place have to be made?

[Nemeth] I think that the latest date is the fall of this year.

[Domany] The Budapest consultative session will be held then.

[Nemeth] Yes.

[Domany] Thank you. [end recording]

MTI Reports Nemeth Comments

LD1001235690 Budapest MTI in English 2313 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (MTI)—In the wake of the CMEA session in Sofia, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth made the following statement to MTI:

The conference proved that every participant agreed that CMEA in its present form was unable to function, and its maintenance had more disadvantages than advantages. Therefore, its radical transformation, involving a new fundamental document and principles, and the establishing new cooperation models was inevitable.

Miklos Nemeth said that in the short time available he could discuss only the principles of a new smaller integration unit with the representatives of the Czechoslovak and Polish Governments. They agreed, however, to assume contacts in a short while in order to work out the details as soon as possible.

All in all, the Hungarian proposals were approved by the session, and most of them were included in the final document, the prime minister said.

Modrow on CEMA's Future

LD1101095790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0607 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Interview with Prime Minister Hans Modrow by NEUES DEUTSCHLAND at the conclusion of the 45th CEMA Council meeting—date and place not given]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—By remaining a reliable trading partner to all partners in the future, the GDR can promote, in the best way, CEMA reform and cooperation in Europe. This was noted by GDR Government head Hans Modrow in an interview with NEUES DEUTSCHLAND that he gave at the conclusion of the 45th CEMA Council meeting.

According to Modrow, a part of this is "that we precisely orient the processes of inner changes through our economic reforms." The discussion in Sofia was greatly helpful and supportive in bringing in European considerations. That means "shaping the treaty-based community with the Federal Republic, which is facing us, in the economic area, as well as in such a way that we fill out all things, and, at the same time, continue our work within the framework of the CEMA."

A special commission will work out the CEMA statutes and principles anew. The core question is: "The orientation of communality toward the European market, toward a further growing together into a European house." The GDR has "come up with constructive considerations for a new approach" for this new thinking. The Council meeting in Sofia noted in this regard a turning point in CEMA activity. The revolutionary changes taking pace within the economies of the individual countries will now also be reflected in the new shape in the work of the CEMA.

Mladenov Receives CEMA Delegates After Summit

AU1001163390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] After the 45th CEMA session concluded its official work, the leaders of the delegations were received in Sofia today by Petur Mladenov, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and chairman of the Bulgarian State Council.

Council of Ministers Chairman Georgi Atanasov briefed Petur Mladenov on the results of the work of the CEMA session. It is an exceptionally important event in the existence of the organization. He reported that the session's participants in the session had sought a solution for a radical change in the mechanism and form of cooperation, and emphasized the viewpoint expressed that CEMA must be brought into line with the nature of the economic reforms in our countries. He pointed out that the solution of the problems put forward at the CEMA session in Sofia is especially important, because this affects the future image of the organization. This would be a complex process, but they must be resolved because they are connected with our future development, he said.

Further on Meeting

AU1001190090 Sofia BTA in English 1756 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—After the completion of the 45th session of the CMEA [CEMA] the leaders of the delegations were received by Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] and president of the State Council. The meeting was attended by Mr Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Hungary, Mr Vo Van Kiet, first vice chairman of the Council of Ministers of Vietnam, Mr Hans Modrow, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR, Dr Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, vice president of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of Cuba, Mr Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Mongolia, Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Poland, Mr Petre Roman, prime minister of Romania, Mr Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr Marian Calfa, prime minister of Czechoslovakia.

The meeting was also attended by Mr Branimir Pajkovic, member of the Yugoslavian Federal Executive Council, and Mr Henry Ruiz Hernandez, minister of foreign economic relations of Nicaragua.

Mr Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, informed Mr Petur Mladenov of the results of the CMEA session, an exceptionally important event in the life of the organization. He said that the participants have searched for decisions for radical change in the mechanism and forms of interaction and stressed the expressed position that the CMEA must be brought into line with the character of the economic reforms in the member-states.

Mr Petur Mladenov pointed out that the problems set at the Sofia session of the CMEA are exceptionally important because they refer to the future complexion of the organization. No matter how complicated they should be resolved because they are related to the further advance. I think that we are going on the right road, said he, the decisions are dictated by life. Their realization needs the efforts of all member-states.

The youngest of the delegations' leaders, Mr Petre Roman, expressed his satisfaction over the open dialogue led at the session. He expressed the gratitude of the Romanian people for the solidarity and support of the CMEA member-states to the revolution in Romania.

Mr Nikolay Ryzhkov assessed as very good the conditions of work in Sofia. In his opinion the session takes credit for the analysis of the positive and negative features of the mutual cooperation, for the desire that has been expressed for radical changes. The revolutionary changes in our countries gave an impetus to the restructuring of the CMEA. Mr Ryzhkov attached special importance to the proposal for the establishing of a commission which should offer views and ideas for the principles, structure and the statute of the economic organization.

Mr Petur Mladenov informed the guests about the situation in this country after November 10, 1989. It was pointed out that the dynamics of the events is high, it concerns the entire life politics, economy, morals. The Bulgarian leadership adopted a program for parallel resolution of these problems in dialogue with all public forces, all citizens. In such situation the BCP is preparing for its 14th Extraordinary Congress, the party also restructures itself in order to turn into a modern party.

In conclusion it was stressed that Bulgaria will continue to develop its fruitful cooperation with each CMEA member state in the spirit of the deep changes underway in them.

Romania's Roman Meets Ryzhkov

AU0901211890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1947 GMT 9 Jan 90

["Petre Roman Meets With Nikolay Ryzhkov"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Sofia ROMPRES, 9/1/1990—Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman, now in Sofia at head of a delegation to participate in the 45th CMEA session, had an interview with Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

During the meeting, Petre Roman thanked the Soviet Union peoples on behalf of the Romanian people for the support given from the very first days after the triumph of the popular revolution that led to the removal of the old regime in Romania.

The Soviet Prime Minister N. Ryzhkov expressed the USSR Government's determination to intensify as early as January and further on the deliveries of oil, natural gas and electricity to Romania.

The two heads of government then reviewed the concrete questions of development of the economic relations on multiple planes in the period ahead and in a longer run.

Both sides agreed to expand their economic cooperation first of all by establishing broad and direct cooperative relations between economic units, enterprises [word indistinct].

For that purpose, practical measures were agreed upon to make such relations effective without delay.

Petre Roman and Nikolay Ryzhkov informed each other about the solutions that can be given on a national plane to the principal problems concerning the economic and social development of Romania and the Soviet Union and to ensure domestic economic balance.

The atmosphere of the meeting was one of warm friendship, deep understanding and mutual regard.

GDR's Modrow Meets Ryzhkov, Mazowiecki, Roman

LD1001180190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1612 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia (ADN)—In talks held today under the auspices of the CEMA meeting in Sofia, GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow and USSR Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov reaffirmed their governments' firm intention of achieving a higher level of cooperation in science and technology in accordance with compelling requirements. Here, apart from promoting proven forms such as direct relations between enterprises and institutions, it is also necessary to travel rapidly along new paths, such as joint research teams and joint enterprises.

Both politicians expressed their satisfaction at the recent numerous contacts between the two countries' heads of

central government bodies. They voiced a mutual striving to put relations and the transition to a new quality of cooperation on an objective footing. The exchange of views between the CEMA heads of governments has also given fresh impetus to shaping bilateral cooperation between the GDR and the USSR.

In their discussion of international problems, the two prime ministers strongly opposed all attempts to stir up nationalist and revanchist sentiments, and to undermine the stability and sovereignty of the GDR by exploiting developments in the GDR. They stressed that the acceptance of the European postwar political-territorial status quo, in particular the existence of two independent and sovereign German states, is an indispensable condition for the preservation of peace and stability on the continent, and for the creation of a Common European home. In view of the alarming growth of nationalist and neofascist activities, the two politicians stressed an urgent need to resolutely oppose such activities, mindful of the terrible experiences of the past.

Yesterday evening, Modrow met with other CEMA representatives. In a talk with Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers, the traditional relations of friendship between Poland and the GDR, which should be deepened in the interests of both peoples, were acknowledged. The politicians stressed that recognition of the existing borders is a precondition for stability and security in Europe. This also applies to unconditional respect for the Oder-Neisse border.

During a meeting, Hans Modrow assured Petre Roman, first minister of Romania, of the sincere solidarity of the GDR government and citizens with the Romanian people. Petre Roman expressed thanks for the GDR's extensive aid. The heads of government agreed that recent developments in the two states have opened up new possibilities for cooperation in various branches of industry.

'Emergency Measures' Reportedly Taken in Shkoder

AU1101092290 Paris AFP in English 0026 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 11 (AFP)—The Belgrade daily POLITIKA said in its Thursday edition, citing "certain sources", that "emergency measures" had been decreed in the northern Albanian city of Shkoder.

The Yugoslav press had reported that "disorders" broke out in that city a month ago, but a spokesman for the Albanian Embassy here told AFP on December 19 that such reports were "pure speculation."

The latest article in POLITIKA said that the police were exercising close control over movements of people and vehicles in Shkoder, while in Tirana, the capital, the guard has been quadrupled around the residences of President Ramiz Alia and Nexhmija Hoxha, the widow of the late leader Enver Hoxha.

POLITIKA said that Shkoder was leading a movement of protest against the "last Stalinist regime" in Europe. It said the first armed demonstration against the regime by the Shkoder population took place three years ago when a group of men managed to disarm the garrison in that city, seized the weapons, and urged the population to "fight for freedom." On that occasion, clashes between the Army and the rebels lasted all night, and the latter were not repressed until dawn by special troops and tanks, the newspaper said.

It added that five young Albanians were sentenced to death at the end of 1989 for handing out pamphlets urging demonstrations against the communist regime.

The newspaper commented that reports coming out of the isolated country are always incomplete, but rarely false. It said there had been several attempted rebellions in Albania during the last five years, all "stifled in blood." Such revolts start most often in "labor camps," all of which together have at least 100,000 prisoners, it said. The bloodiest one took place four years ago at the Spac camp, a mine near Elbasan in central Albania, where the labor force consisted of 6,000 to 7,000 prisoners, including numerous former officers and other persons removed by the regime.

POLITIKA said that on that occasion, the Army and special units of the Sigurimi (state security) killed 1,000 to 1,500 prisoners, all of whom were buried in the camp, while another 100 were sentenced to death.

Protesting Students Hanged From Lampposts

PM1001154090 London DAILY EXPRESS in English 10 Jan 90 pp 1, 2

[Sue Masterman dispatch: "Students Hanged in Street"]

[Excerpt] Vienna—Hardline Communists in Albania are hanging rebel students in the streets in a bloody bid to cling to power, it was revealed last night.

Crowds were forced to watch as execution squads carried out the atrocities.

The bodies were left hanging from makeshift gallows for a week as a warning to others. Four other people, who tried to escape over the heavily-guarded frontier to Greece, were tied to the rear of vehicles and dragged over gravel roads until they were dead.

The crackdown came as the last Stalinist regime in East Europe tried to terrify its people into submission.

The executions occurred in three towns after students and other rebels staged demonstrations against the old-guard regime, said travellers leaving the Alblanian-capital of Tirana.

Security forces rounded up the ring-leaders, who were tried by kangaroo courts. Then they were dragged to the town squares and slaughtered.

Among the protesters were members of the 100,000-strong ethnic Greek minority, who are demanding the right to emigrate.

Hangings took place in the Miridite area, a Catholic stronghold before religion was banned on penalty of death, in the main commercial port Durres, and at the Vlore naval base.

Details were reported by Greeks who had been visiting relatives.

Albania is virtually isolated from the rest of the world. Visitors are discouraged, and the three million citizens are banned from travelling abroad.

But news of the collapse of communism in neighbouring nations has filtered through. Students monitored the changes in Romania and East Germany on the BBC World Service.

Others picked up broadcasts from Italian and Greek TV stations after hiding aerials in the mountains.

Albanian leader Ramiz Alia has warned that events elsewhere would not affect the country.

But the old guard has watched nervously as communist dictators were forced out by people power. [passage omitted]

Government Rebuts 'Slanders Against Albania'

AU1001090090 Tirana ATA in English 0733 GMT 10 Jan 90

["No-One May Play With Socialist Albania"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 10 (ATA)—Under the above title, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT, dated January 10, carries an article written by Javer Malo. It says:

The Greek reaction has launched another campaign of slanders against Albania. The distortions of facts and

falsifications surpass every boundary and extent. As a result of the changes that took place in modern Europe, the rightist circles and chieftains of the Greek Orthodox Church thought that time has come to intervene in Albania.

The first archbishop Serafim made a sensational discovery. He declared that the four Presos brothers from Pepel village of Dropull have allegedly been arrested in an attempt to flee from Albania to Greece. According to him, they were allegedly tightened to a tractor and were killed.

Although the Albanian authorities categorically refuted this falsity showing these people filmed while celebrating the New Year 1990 together with their family in their village and home, the campaign becomes more and more savage. Not only the metropolitans of Greek cities of the border zone with Albania but also many political activists of the Greek Orthodox Church of America, Canada and Australia are engaged in this campaign. It seems as if today at the head of the church in Athens is the ill-famous Archbishop Damaskimos, who in 1945, through his frenzied activity against Albania, brought about great damage to the Albanian-Greek relations.

This campaign, that seeks to sow hostility between the two peoples, has been denounced by the leftist parties and democratic forces in Greece as "absurd regarding important problems of the foreign policy," as a treatment of these questions " without responsibility and as an instigation for the tension in the Balkans." It is clear that its inspirers and organizers forebode evils not only for the Albanian people, but also for the Greek minority itself.

Recently, the relations between Albania and Greece have positively developed in all the fields. Numerous were the Greeks that have come to Albania, numerous have been the Albanians and people of minority who have gone to Greece to see and meet with their relatives. All this contributed to create a better climate and to strengthen the relations between the two peoples, who are bound with an ancient friendship and common traditions and customs. Many of the Greeks who have been here, have spoken and written on the happy life the Greek minority leads in our country. This minority, that has fought together with the Albanian people for freedom and rights we enjoy today, enjoys the same freedoms and rights as the entire Albanian people. The territories where the people of minority live in Albania are flourishing just as culture and education in the Greek language are flourishing. From these zones, once poor and backward, have emerged thousands of higher and middle cadres and numerous are the poets, writers, painters, sculptors, artists and others, who are known and respected throughout the country.

We understand the human rights the reactionary Greek bishop are speaking of today mainly as rights for a better and worthy life, without national and social oppression to work freely, to acquire education and do not reduce them to the problem of church or mosque.

With the cries and shouts on the "rights" of the Greek minority in Albania, as it seems, the reactionary Greek circles want to bring there again the exploitation and the stick of the Albanian aga [small feudal landowner] and the greatest exploitation on the part of the minority traders and usurers. They want to bring back throughout Albania the savage domination of the beys [large feudal landowners] and capitalists of the period of the satrap regime of Zog.

Perhaps it is not by chance that as soon as a fierce campaign was launched in Greece against socialist Albania, the Albanian emigrants, discredited collaborators of fascism, who have washed their hands with the blood of the people and left Albania together with the German troops, although having one foot in the grave, gathered in Paris, and with the son of Ahmet Zogu in the lead called upon the Albanian people "to seize upon the events in East Europe and raise against the atheist regime of Tirana." It is significant and there is no need to comment the fact that this arms and drug trafficker speaks of "the human rights" from South Africa, where he has managed to find shelter—that is, from a state, which as is known is the country where "the human rights" find daily expression in innumerous arrests and casualties, inhuman genocide and apartheid, in a country which is offending and alarming the conscience of all progressive mankind. Unfortunately some French paper, for instance the daily FIGARO of the press magnate Hersent, of this known collaborator of Petain, has become a mouthpiece of the statements of a discredited hooligan and trafficker.

With the known anti-Albanian zeal, trying not to lag behind for any moment, the Serbian press of Belgrade is also reflecting this campaign against Albania. The Greek newspaper ELEVTHERI ORA of December 21 carried the message that the patriarch of the Serb Church, German, sent to the Archbishop Serafim. He expressed the support of the Serb Church for "North Epirus" and stressed also the accusation for "the tragic killing of four North Epirot brothers". The aim of the holy German is revealed by the other newspaper of Athens KATHIN-ERINI of December 24, in its article entitled "other forecasts for the Balkans", which wrote among others: "Since the period of the monarchy, Serbia is closely linked with Greece. According to the competent sources, if the provocations of Skopje will continue Greece will maintain the traditional relations with Serbia," that is to the detriment of Macedonia.

The dreams of such reactionary circles to revive the old alliances have made the Balkan peoples shed much blood, but the Serbian press of Belgrade, which as it seems has not drawn any lesson from the history, has begun to advertise also the Ballists' [supporters of wartime anticommunist resistance movement in Albanian] and Zogists' activity wherever they are, presenting them as "advocators of the human rights in Albania". And

those who dare speak of these rights, keep Kosovo in a state of curfew, applying there the constitution of tanks, who have filled its roads with murdered people, the prisons with workers, students and pupils, with youngsters in the prime of their youth, those who persecute the intelligentsia and close down the Albanian schools, those who try to impose such situation also in Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia-Hercegovina.

It is not the first time that the reactionary circles build castles into the air in relation to Albania and consider their desires as a reality. Our country won its freedom through its own blood. Socialism guaranteed to the people the independence and sovereignty, brought back their national dignity. Therefore, it will always march forward on this road, and no force can stop it.

The Albanian people, who have suffered so much and shed so much blood for freedom, will as always continue to be an important factor of peace and stability in this part of Europe, will work for the Balkan cooperation and understanding. But they will never allow anyone to interfere in their own affairs.

Effects of 'Reformist Wave' in East Europe

AU0901213390 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 31 Dec 89 p 6

[Sokol Gjoka article: "The Year's Reformist Wave"]

[Text] A powerful reformist wave has swept over East Europe this year. The first shocks of this wave began at the epicenter of perestroyka, at Europe's northeast edge, toward the Urals, in 1985, and quickly spread toward other countries in East Europe in 1989. This wave was accompanied by great political confusion, severe economic destruction, capitalist-style reforms, and so forth. It finally tore away the mask of revisionism from many political parties, destroying them entirely, or removing so-called Communist or workers parties from their leading role and reducing them to minority or opposition parties. It gave free play to political pluralism and bourgeois democracy. The whole legislative system gradually began to change in order to accommodate itself to a western-style administrative state apparatus. The countries of the East were engulfed by political chaos, in which political symbols and practices were abandoned one after another, and such woes as bourgeois elitism and corruption became strongly visible on the sociopolitical scene.

The reformist wave occurred this year, but this does not mean that it had not been predicted earlier. The Albanian Workers Party delivered such a prognosis about 30 years ago, when Khrushchev abandoned Marxist-Leninist principles and began to revise them. It was precisely this revisionism that paved the way and served as a transition phase for the restoration of capitalism.

Brought up to have "humanist" feelings, Western capital immediately offered help in order to increase the force of the reformist wave in the East. It granted millions and billions of dollars to East European countries in the form of credit, loans, and so forth. Western capital proposed cooperation with the private firms which sprouted up in these countries, and began to make major investments in various fields, in its own interests, but also as a sign of "pity" and "solidarity." It also offered its experience in managing a state apparatus and specialists to apply this experience in the relevant countries.

Extraordinary congresses are being held in the countries of the East in order to encourage the reformist wave. Loans and credit flow in from all sides. Private property is blossoming. The euphoria of capitalism and of the revisionists knows no bounds, but will melt away like snow in sunshine when faced with the realities of the coming years.

Deputies Speak at People's Assembly

AU0901223790

[Editorial Report] Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian on 29 December carries on pages 3-4, under the headline "At the Sixth Session of the 11th Legislature of the People's Assembly," an 11,000-word report of speeches by deputies to the People's Assembly on 27-28 December in Tirana.

The report states that "The deputy Ibrahim Gjevori said in his speech, among other things, that the production of the Steel of the Party Combine in Elbasan in 1989 was worth 55 million leks more than in the previous year, and production costs were reduced by 30 million leks." Gjevori is also reported as saying that in the 1990 plan, "general industrial production will be increased by 70 million leks, nickel production for export will rise by 35 percent, and the export production of the combine in general will be 50 million leks higher."

Pali Miska, Albanian Workers Party [AWP] Central Committee Politburo member, is reported as speaking on various agricultural matters.

Ismail Ahmeti, minister of construction, is reported as saying that in 1989 "the construction plan was 100 percent fulfilled."

The report states that "the deputy Jovan Bardhi said that the Ministry of the Food Industry and he personally bear responsibility for the fact that the 1989 production plan was 98.5 percent fulfilled. Our tasks for 1990 are greater in all sectors. The plan coordinates better raw materials, processing capacity, and the needs of the districts for food products, a fact which will be reflected in the improvement of supplies to the market." Bardhi is also reported as saying, "Our consumers call for goods of better quality, and there is a strong demand for improvements. We feel that we owe this to them, and we will be at pains to make improvements, relying first of all on the experience of those who already produce high-quality goods, and also tightening our control of technicians, specialists, and quality controllers who are slack and ignore the demands of the market."

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, is reported as speaking on the importance of plan fulfillment and on the international situation.

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member, is reported as saying: "Working people in industry, mining, and the energy sector come to this session of the People's Assembly after a deep critical and self-critical analysis of the results of this year, after a thorough study of the tasks of the 1990 plan, and having prescribed measures to guarantee the implementation of this plan. Successes have been achieved in some sectors of industry and in some other directions, but there have also been shortcomings. Tasks were fulfilled in the copper sector, in ferrochrome production, in chemical fertilizers, and in nickel. The shortfall of more than 140,000 tonnes in chrome was entirely in the production of enriched chrome.

"The 1990 plan, compared with the levels expected for this year, sets every target higher. The basic characteristic of this plan is a general improvement in technical, economic, and financial targets. For instance, general industrial production, in comparison with the level expected this year, is to rise by 8.2 percent, and exports by 17.4 percent. These high growth rates, which rely on the opportunities available to us, are a necessity for the further development of the economy and the people's greater prosperity."

Qirjako Mihali, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, is reported as saying: "Problems concerning the circulation of cash and goods have been and will remain the focus of the bank's attention, because of this issue's political and economic character.

"It is true that, as a result of measures taken this year by party and state bodies centrally and in the districts, there have been improvements in supplies to the people. Better support to sectors producing common consumer goods through material resources, the labor force, and funds for expansion and reconstruction, as well as better plan fulfillment in the agricultural sector and the consolidation of the small herds and fields, have had their influence on improving the quantity and range of goods, a fact reflected in the better absorption of the population's purchasing power. In 1989, by stressing the importance of the main indices of turnover, payments and receipts, we managed to issue 40 percent less cash than planned, a fact that shows the better supply of the people with goods and services. However, figures would be better in this field if the people were supplied with more goods made from domestic raw materials, in which there have been particular shortages in the districts of Shkoder, Fier, Gjirokaster, Peshkopi, and so forth."

The speech by Shane Korbeci, foreign trade minister, is reported as follows: "This year, Shane Korbeci said among other things, that measures have been taken to improve work in the ministerial apparatus and in the foreign trade enterprises, giving more authority to these enterprises to make them more agile and to increase their sense of responsibility. We are working on the reorganization of the Chamber of Commerce in order to increase its authority and expand its role. Our positive achievements also stem from better work done to exploit market opportunities created for the sale of chrome ore and concentrate, nickel, and some other goods. Priority has been given to securing goods for the supply of the people and for agriculture, in response to the tasks set by the seventh party Central Committee plenum. There has been more work done for exports in certain districts and various branches and sectors of the economy, and among those particularly distinguished have been the districts of Gramsh and Lushnje; the 29 November Agricultural Enterprise in Lushnje; the agricultural cooperatives of Koplik near Shkoder, Rrashbull near Durres, and Drenove near Korce; the Gjirokaster cigarette and tobacco factory, and others. Despite all improvements and every effort, there is a significant nonfulfillment of producers' export plans. We are also aware of our share of responsibility for these nonfulfillments, he said.

There is justification for demands for securing imports in quantity, to the right quality, and on time, but it is first necessary to produce exports in quantity and quality according to the demands of the market. Our role in encouraging production, expanding its range, and ensuring the sale of all goods provided for in the plan must be more active. We must also be more active in encouraging increased production at home to relieve imports. It is necessary for us to more closely study requests for imported goods, and for consumers to practice greater economies in imported goods.

"The tasks faced by foreign trade in 1990, he continued later, are great but entirely feasible. In cooperation with the producers and consumers of export and import goods, we will try to find the most suitable ways and means to guarantee export targets and quality and packaging. Alongside securing markets for the sale of our goods, we will research and exploit market opportunities, in order to maximize our profits, and also to cope with the negative effects of the falling prices of some goods we sell and the rising prices of some goods we buy. In acting on the party's guidelines, some export-import activities have been passed to the producing ministries. We will devote more care to developing our ties with producing enterprises in order to offer more incentives and encouragement.

"In implementation of the tasks of the sixth, seventh, and eighth party Central Committee plenums and Comrade Ramiz Alia's constant instructions, he stressed, we will improve our work in every way in order to solve, on time, the problems that emerge."

The deputy Simon Ballabani is reported as saying that "Our People's Army, heir to the finest traditions of the National Liberation War and loyal to national and socialist ideals, in acting on the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver Hoxha, is developing, becoming stronger, and being continually consolidated, like all our society." Ballabani is later reported as saying that "The

world is at present undergoing one of its most turbulent periods since World War II. The superpowers and international reaction have rallied all their forces in their rabid campaign against socialism and communism. Their smiles and declarations about peace conceal plans and acts they undertake against the freedom, independence, and sovereignty of the peoples and their ideas of democracy and general emancipation. Recent events on our continent and beyond also prove this. Their threats have not only not diminished, but, time and again, are acted on with outright aggression, as in the case of Panama.

"Like all the people, the members of our Army support the Marxist-Leninist stance of our AWP. Its analysis of current events in the world and East Europe is realistic and accurate. The stand of our party and Government has always been firm and clear, and an expression of the people's interests and their determination to march forward on the road of inexorable progress, the road of socialism.

"In conclusion, he said, we once again say to the party and people that our People's Army and all the Armed Forces will always be ready to carry out the orders of the party and their supreme commander, Comrade Ramiz Alia."

Planning, Budget Commission Report to Assembly

AU0901215590 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 28 Dec 89 p 4

[Report by Luan Muhameti, chairman to the People's Assembly, on the People's Assembly Permanent Planning and Budget Commission]

[Text] This year's achievements have been encouraging. The tasks of the plan were better fulfilled in many branches and sectors of the economy, and this constitutes a basis for fulfilling the tasks of 1990. The People's Assembly Commissions familiarized themselves with the two reports on the draft plan and budget for 1990 submitted by the Council of Ministers some time ago. They studied the tasks laid down, canvasing the views of the masses, and, after listening to the ministries' reports, debated at length, assessed this year's results, criticized some weaknesses and shortcomings of a subjective nature, made many comments and suggestions about improving planning and budget targets, and called for the necessary measures for completing the 1990 plan and budget.

The Permanent Planning and Budget Commission, being of one mind with the other People's Assembly commissions and having studied the tasks set for 1990 and the problems raised by other commissions, sees fit to offer some ideas which should be kept in mind when the tasks of the plan are carried out.

The primary task under current conditions of the development of the economy remains to improve labor productivity in all branches and sectors of the economy. This year too, experience has shown that there are great reserves in this field. The task of improving labor productivity also demands the continual refinement of economic relations, especially in the field of management and in encouraging working people to fulfill the tasks of the plan. It is a disturbing fact that even in the first 9 months of this year, 20.4 percent of workers nationwide did not fulfill their norms. This is equal to a loss to social production of about 122 million leks. Subjective shortcomings in the punctual supply of raw materials, fuel, etc., which this year cost more than 420,000 working days, estimated to amount to about 105 million leks in lost production, continue to cause major losses in the economy. Enterprises in the system of light industry were responsible for 50 percent of these losses, which requires that the relevant ministries and district state bodies in particular should take strong organizational measures to eliminate these losses.

The relevant state and economic bodies should also take more initiative, in the fight against bureaucracy, in responding to and acting on the proposals of working people to employ economic levers that encourage production, reduce costs, and increase productivity, for there is still procrastination and delay. In particular, the State Planning Commission, the Ministry of Finance, and the State Bank should take a stronger lead in this work, and must anticipate better the needs of the economy's current and future development.

The better harmonization of material and human factors which guarantee the fulfillment of the plan in quantity and quality and the support which should be given by state and economic bodies to the revolutionary initiatives and movements of the working masses must be among the main tasks in 1990. We emphasize this because, despite all our achievements, cases are not uncommon in which, in the very drafting of the plan, and later in the process of its implementation, there have been contradictions in plan targets, especially in technical and material aspects of production. This is shown by the fact that Shop No. 12 in the Steel of the Party Combine in Elbasan, which failed to fulfill its tasks until the first quarter of this year, increased its production in certain ways after it received support.

The punctual realization of investments, especially in the productive sphere, exerts a powerful influence on increasing the economy's efficiency. In this field, the example of the pace of work at the Elbasan ferrochrome works, the Fier urea plant, the Banje hydroelectric station, and some other important plants shows the opportunities we possess for speedy, efficient, and high-quality construction. This experience must be further consolidated. However, we wish here to draw attention to two problems: first, the need for better coordination by planning bodies of financial and foreign currency resources in order to ensure the scheduled commissioning of projects foreseen in the plan and, second, the need for the total organization and performance of tasks without neglecting any single project. In the 1990 draft

plan, there is room for some improvements in determining the sequence of the commencement and conclusion of certain projects, especially in the food industry and light industry, transportation, construction, and so forth, for there is still dissipation of funds and lengthening of the construction schedules in the case of some productive projects, which have been under construction for years and have not been commissioned.

Meanwhile, the Ministry of Construction and the investing ministries, besides major projects, must not neglect the punctual completion of some other productive projects, for there is still a great deal of investment which is still in development. The fact that schedules have not been enforced in 54 percent of productive projects in 1986-1989 shows that substantial investments remain in development, representing lost production to the tune of approximately 100 million leks. The bank's control by means of the lek must be more strict here. The State Bank should carefully analyze the best versions of projects and should not permit expenditure without return.

There have been improvements in supplies to the people which have been emphasized in the report. However, there are still problems, especially in districts were targets have not been met, such as Berat, Diber, Mat, Mirdite, Puke, and so forth. It is a primary duty of state and economic bodies at the base and the center to devote skill and constant concern to their management in order to achieve the objectives laid down in the plan. State and economic bodies should give more support to strengthening the collective herds and to the initiatives launched by many collectives, enterprises, schools, and military units to start auxiliary economic activities.

There was no reason why targets in some articles such as bricks, tiles, fish products, fabrics and materials, and so forth should have been planned below the plan for this year, a fact that was kept in mind. The Ministry of Light Industry, the Ministry of the Food Industry, and the Ministry of Construction should secure common consumer goods in quantity and quality according to the plan, especially the construction materials, bricks and tiles, textiles, knitwear and shoes, dairy products and vegetables which the people need most. Meanwhile, the state bodies in the districts should demand that the agricultural cooperatives should take the production of bulk construction materials better in hand.

Export problems are still not being considered with the proper energy and responsibility. The situation calls for a greater increase in both the quantity and quality of goods for export from all branches of the economy. Various steps that were taken in exports this year should be consolidated, and new steps should be taken for next year and beyond. The Ministry of Foreign Trade, alongside measures to secure markets, should shift more work to the producer at the base. The Ministry of Industry, Mining, and Energy should especially take urgent and radical measures to overcome the backwardness in the chrome industry and in oil extraction which is causing considerable losses in the balance of payments. Control and demands for accountability must be enforced more tightly in the relevant institutions, and the chrome mines must be supported better with the material and technical base to permit them to realize their capital investments.

State and economic bodies in the districts and at the center should investigate and find supplementary ways to increase exports and reduce imports beyond the targets of the plan. Everyone, every ministry and district, must anticipate his own tasks in exports, exploiting every reserve and opportunity the economy possesses. We consider it proper to suggest that mass actions should be undertaken to provide existing greenhouses with glass, plastic, etc., and to add to the cultivated area everywhere. In this context, the production of tomatoes for sauce could be increased, obtaining the most suitable varieties, and other changes could be made in the structure of agricultural crops for export. At the same time, more energetic measures should be taken to cultivate medicinal herbs and oil-bearing crops for export.

The problems raised by the deputies and various organs have been generally resolved, but there are cases of particular problems that are still unresolved. Thus, the production of new machinery and equipment at the expense of spare parts has been criticized over and over again by working people and deputies, because the result is that hundreds of pieces of old machinery and equipment remain unused. This year, too, despite measures that have been adopted, the shortage of spare parts has caused serious concern with regard to the utilization of transportation stocks and various machinery. Let us not repeat figures, since they are already known, but what is required from the State Planning Commission and the General Directorate of the Engineering Industry is a more earnest commitment to put an end to this state of affairs.

The question of the repair of wheat-cleaning equipment in agricultural cooperatives has been raised forcefully during the past 3 years, and yet the measures adopted are rather slow in obtaining results. This problem should have been resolved through action by the Ministry of the Food Industry in cooperation with the respective districts. Problems of environmental pollution should be better tackled by the Ministry of Health, the respective central organs, and the district organs, insisting on accountability and implementing the stipulated tasks. The Council of Ministers should study the possibility of separating the funds allocated for the protection of the environment, which must be used solely for this purpose. Problems of this kind have been and will continue to be raised, because life itself raises them. The commitment of the central state organs to respond to these demands, suggestions, and observations on the part of deputies must, therefore, be correct and responsible.

A considerable increase in the state budget income is expected in 1990. This requires that, in step with increased production, the financial organs at the base, the Ministry of Finances, and the State Bank should

adopt serious measures concerning the efficient use of the respective levers and to exercise strict control in the use of expenditure and financial assets. Immediate measures must be adopted to see to it that those enterprises and activities showing a loss are placed on a sound footing. Tirana District has adopted a number of initiatives in the field of production efficiency and increased accumulation in industrial enterprises and good results have been obtained in a number of such enterprises. However, the fact that almost all agricultural enterprises in the district are incurring losses for purely subjective reasons is impermissible.

The consolidation of our socialist economy is also linked with the adoption of measures to protect and manage property. Particularly strong measures are needed to protect agricultural land, where misuses are still observed, with severe consequences for the economy. The state and economic organs must also put an end to their procrastination in establishing a full system of technical, economic, and financial documentation in every production and service unit and must strengthen control at all levels. Economic measures and solutions must be applied to tighten up order and discipline in the economy.

Guided by the decisions of the AWP Central Committee plenums and the very important speeches made recently by Comrade Ramiz Alia, the workers class, cooperative members, cadres, and specialists will work optimistically and a spirit of action to fulfill to the end the tasks raised by the plan and budget in 1990.

We invite you, comrade deputies, to unanimously approve the draft plan and draft budget presented.

Public Council Communique on Nationality Issue

AU0901223590 Sofia BTA in English 2127 GMT 9 Jan 90

["Dialogue on National Unity Guarantees"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—"We should guard as the apple of our eye the peaceful process of restructuring and the promotion of democracy in Bulgaria in the interest of the equality of all Bulgarian citizens," says a communique on the session which the Public Council on the Various Aspects of the Ethnic Issue held at the National Assembly here today. "All speakers expressed a shared desire to build a peaceful and democratic state committed to the rule of law," the communique says.

Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, presides over the Public Council. The leaders of the organizations represented on the council today took the floor to set forth their platforms and to suggest ways to shape the principal aspects of the country's ethnic policy through wide-ranging public dialogue.

Most speakers declared themselves in favour of keeping the public fully informed and of apportioning blame for the violence and the abuses involved in the 1984 renaming of the Muslim population and for the subversive activities of the extremist-minded Muslims.

Those who took the floor supported the demands for guarantees of Bulgaria's unity, indivisibility, territorial integrity and national security and of the status of the Bulgarian language as the country's official language.

The extreme evaluations, demands and positions gave way to a search for dialogue and for meeting points on a generally acceptable ethnic policy guaranteeing the rights of all Bulgarian citizens and providing a basis for popular unity in the conditions of restructuring and democracy in Bulgaria took.

The overwhelming majority of the participants condemned nationalism and chauvinism irrespective of who their exponents might be.

The Public Council will resume its proceedings tomorrow.

More on Council Session

AU1001201290 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Concern Over Bulgaria Generates Political Maturity"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—The second day of business of the Public Council on the different aspects of the ethnic issue confirmed that most participants seek meeting points of the different platforms and a convergence of views and stands for the sake of the Bulgarian people's unity and of guaranteeing the rights of every citizen of Bulgaria, for building a humane Bulgaria committed to the rule of law and worthy of a place in the future common European home.

The 24 representatives of political, mass, and religious organisations who took the floor expressed different and often conflicting views on the ethnic issue. They all demanded unimpeded access of the public to all information on the country's previous ethnic policy, on the abuses and crimes committed by the Todor Zhivkov regime in the process of renaming the Bulgarian Muslims as well as on the subversive activity of some Islamic fundamentalists. Some specific accusations were levelled, which have to be investigated and proven and the culprits should be called to account, whoever they may be. It was also insisted that Bulgaria's unity and indivisibility be guaranteed and that its citizens be considered equal before the law, that stable guarantees be provided for the country's national security, that the fate of all Bulgarians inside and outside the country be studied and their rights be guaranteed.

The lack of political experience and of good political manners, the unrestrained emotions and the hits below the belt used by some participants who are trying improperly to discredit their opponents do not hinder the normal progress of the forum. The general impression is that political maturity and patriotism take the upper hand and that they are generated by a common concern over the country's peaceful advancement in this alarming situation, now that feelings are still running high, as most speakers find out.

The participants resolutely distance themselves from the isolated cases of nationalism and chauvinism irrespective of their proponents.

The council will resume its proceedings tomorrow with Mr Stanko Todorov, chairman of the National Assembly, in the chair.

Defense, Internal Affairs Back Ethnic Decision

AU0901161890 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 8 Jan 90 p 2

["Appeal" issued by the Ministries of National Defense and Internal Affairs in Sofia—date not given]

[Text] Citizens of the People's Republic of Bulgaria,

We are following with great disquiet the development of the processes that are occurring in our society in recent days. This disquiet is also felt now, at this alarming and tense time, for our native land in the hearts of the soldiers and employees of the collectives of the ministries that we represent.

Being conscious of the entire responsibility that we bear, as defenders of the internal and external security of the republic, we declare the following:

The Armed Forces of the People's Republic of Bulgaria stand firmly and with conviction behind the decision of

the State Council and the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria of 29 December 1989.

The suggestions made through the mass media concerning "a risk of a military dictatorship," and of "tolerance" of chauvinistic and other extremist and destabilizing calls on the part of individual newly created citizens' structures, are absolutely groundless and ill-intentioned.

Within the limits of the authorities granted them by the existing laws, both ministries are unswervingly and precisely fulfilling their constitutional functions.

Without any doubt, we will continue to fulfill these functions in the future—under the control of the people.

We stand for civilized and constructive dialogue between all democratic political and public forces in the country in the name of a renewed, economically and politically prosperous People's Republic of Bulgaria, with an established international authority!

The soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army and the employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are part of the Bulgarian people, and always remain at their battle stations under all circumstances to defend the people's rights and lawful interests.

Mladenov Meets With Intellectuals on Ethnic Issue

AU1101101990 Sofia BTA in English 0741 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 11 (BTA)—Prominent intellectuals—scientists, artists, and educationalists—were invited last night by Mr Petur Mladenov, president of the State Council, to discuss with him the ethnic issue, the most pressing problem in the country's public life.

The State Council president described the country's development since November 10, 1989 as two months filled with dramatic events which radically changed the nature of political and public processes in Bulgaria. The new party and state leadership in interaction with the broad public forces made considerable efforts towards the country's democratization. Prerequisites were created for a successful progress towards a civilized state committed to the rule of law. The BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] came up with a constructive platform for reforms in all spheres of life, including its own renewal as a modern and progressive political force. As a result, an unprecedented activation came into the social atmosphere and different political forces took shape. In the conditions of pluralism they announced their positions for the country's future development. A roundtable discussion began and its principal idea is to hold a wide-ranging dialogue on a settlement of the existing serious problems on the basis of a nationwide consensus.

"The ethnic issue is one of the most intricate problems lingering from the past, above all as a result of the errors committed by the ousted autocratic regime of Todor Zhivkov," Mr Petur Mladenov emphasized. "The knot tied up by the series of mistakes and abuses especially since 1984 was severed, so to speak, by the December 29, 1989 resolution. This was a major political act and a logical outgrowth of the policy line seeking to democratize the party and the country. By no means did it come as a political reaction to pressure from internal or external political factors. This decision must bring us back to realities, and without a foothold on realities it is impossible to pursue prosperity for the people. For a variety of reasons this decision drew a mixed reaction, and the broad spectrum of opinions includes some extreme positions. Along with the prevailing acknowledgement that the decision is realistic and correct, there has been criticism of the way in which it was made, and some people evidently fail to understand that it is pressingly and fundamentally needed at this stage."

Mr Petur Mladenov emphasized that in this way the BCP does not monopolize the right to decisionmaking on the crucial problems of national importance but, just as any other party, invokes its right to suggest a solution to one question or another. The actual solution of the problem will be effected legislatively by the National Assembly.

The debate which followed Mr Mladenov's opening remarks took more than six hours and lasted almost until midnight. The problem was analyzed from different angles, and the 31 people who took the floor expressed scores of opinions and suggestions on how to cope with the ethnic crisis. Despite the great variety of approaches to the point at issue, all speakers commended highly the resolution of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP, of the State Council and the Council of Ministers. They described it as a bold and farsighted political act of enormous long term implications for the country's stabilization and democratization.

The speakers emphasized that at this point of time, all political forces should adopt a political approach and should agree to a nationwide dialogue on reconciliation. They called attention to the complex and comprehensive nature of the problem which results from the political processes in the recent past as well as from some historical and political factors of longer standing.

The participants in the discussion unanimously stressed the active part which intellectuals play in cultivating democratic values and approaches and in teaching the ABC of democracy. Some speakers said they feared that people who had been involved in the 1984-1985 campaign and who had been party to the abuses of the former regime might be actively participating in the events at the end of last year and the beginning of 1990. Other speakers suggested that certain quarters are playing on the national feelings of different groups of the population.

The prevalent opinion was that the unrest was largely stirred by earnest misgivings about personal safety and national security, that people want guarantees for the

defense of their legitimate rights. The forces committed to social renewal must interact to overcome the crisis, to ease tensions and to achieve national reconciliation.

Vladkov Criticizes Decision on Ethnic Issue

AU0901125590 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 4 Jan 90 p 3

[Major Vladi Vladkov article: "Guilt Has a Specific Address"]

[Text] The November changes instilled confidence in the hearts of many Communists and citizens. The call for pluralism, glasnost, and the democratization of society refreshed the "unanimous and univocal atmosphere" of our life. The party and state adopted steps toward beginning a dialogue with the Communists and the people. This was greeted with joy.

However, the apparatus that used to order and direct public opinion, obviously is not sleeping, perhaps because without this function, which has been rejected by time, it would become unnecessary and redundant. The results of the apparatus' vigilance quickly appeared. The decision of the 29 December Plenum of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee and the joint decision of the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria on overcoming the distortions that had been allowed toward the country's Turkish-speaking and Muslim population, came as a New Year's surprise. The basic assessment of the BCP Central Committee Politburo on the initial steps in clarifying the implementation of the aforementioned decisions completely confused me.

Why am I confused?

First, because I did not think that after the changes that had begun in sociopolitical life, the leadership of the party, state, and government would again resort to approaches, methods, and a style of work characteristic of the administrative-command system of management, which had been compromised by the former regime. I expected that such an important issue for our country as the nationality question would become subject to a nationwide discussion, and that the opinions of the broad and most varied circles of the population would be taken into consideration while resolving it.

Second, I was troubled by the expressions used in the documents, which appeared familiar because of their use during the period that recently ended, among them: "The prevailing part," "great majority," "a great part of the settlements," "a high degree of political maturity," "high party, social, and civic awareness," "at certain places," "in certain regions," and "certain cadres." I think that the assessment is not the result of an extensive study of public opinion, but represents freely interpreted formulas, presented as basic assessments, which we are required to support.

Third, I fully agree with the conclusion that changing names by force was a rude violation of human rights. However, I do not share the opinion that we all must almost apologize to the Turkish-speaking population because of this. The guilt for the rude arbitrary act is very specific. The guilty persons have names. Let us first hear those names. Let them apologize and bear the penalty for their arbitrary decisions.

Why should the Communists and working people apologize? Because they told those people not to leave the country? Because throughout the summer they asked those people why were they not working during the months and days which are the most strenuous for the national economy? Because they worked two and three shifts in order to implement the enterprises' plans and harvest the rich agrarian produce? No. Guilt should not be distributed evenly throughout the population. Guilt has a specific address. Let us hear it.

When two friends quarrel, they must clarify their positions before they make up. There is no need for a third person to grab their hands and press them together by force in a demonstrative handshake. In this context, the decisions on the nationality issue represent actions that are incompatible with the real situation and real characteristics of the international arena. A referendum conducted among the Communists and the people was necessary.

In this case, instead of indulging the newly formed independent associations, we could lose the confidence of thousands of honest Bulgarians, who are by no means chauvinists, but merely patriots, people who cherish the unity of the country and would like to see their opinion respected in the new situation.

Komsomol on 'Equal Participation' in Roundtable

AU1001100290 Sofia NARODNA MLADEZH in Bulgarian 8 Jan 90 p 1

[Declaration issued by the Bureau of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol on consultative talks held with the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union in Sofia—date not given]

[Text] Our fundamental position on conducting the national roundtable was expressed in our declaration of 29 December, published in NARODNA MLADEZH Issue No. 1 and carried by Bulgarian Television and Radio. Our position contained the proposal for a constructive and equal dialogue. As a result of the consultations with the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] and the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS], and in connection with the position expressed by the Union of Democratic Forces, we find it necessary to declare the following:

1. The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Komsomol assesses the raising of preconditions to the equal participation of the Dimitrov Komsomol in the

national roundtable as an extremely undemocratic and serious obstacle on the road toward achieving national consensus on the most important issues of our development.

2. The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol considers that the talks and consultations that are conducted between the BCP, the BZNS, and the Union of Democratic Forces cannot be considered a national roundtable, and that no national consensus can be achieved at them, because the greater part of the Bulgarian people, and especially the Bulgarian youth, are not represented. The talks and agreements will have a separatist character and could lead to a division of the power behind the back of the people.

3. The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol assesses as undemocratic the fact that other independent youth organizations outside the Union of Democratic Forces have not been admitted to the roundtable. It proposes to establish direct contact with those organizations without preliminary conditions, with the view to arranging their participation in the roundtable.

4. The Bureau of the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol calls upon the Komsomol members, associations, and organizations to begin a political struggle aimed at achieving the right of equal participation on the part of the Dimitrov Komsomol in resolving all important issues of our development. As a first step we appeal to all Komsomol members to organize the collection of signatures in support of the Komsomol's participation in the national roundtable. The collected signatures must be sent to the Central Committee of the Dimitrov Komsomol, Sofia, Aleksandur Stamboliyski Boulevard No. 11.

5. The issue involved is not merely the fate of the Dimitrov Komsomol, but Bulgaria's fate, thus nobody should be indifferent toward it.

With this declaration we do not seek confrontation with anybody, but demand an honest, constructive, and equal dialogue.

People's Council 'Disassociates' Itself from BCP

AU1001143890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] At a regular session, the Smolyan Municipal People's Council adopted a declaration, according to which it clearly disassociates its functions from those of the party organs, public organizations, and movements. It is pointed out that the People's Council members are prepared to act in accordance with their conscience, as well as on the basis of the law and the voters' will.

Politburo Approves Commission To Prepare Congress

AU1001202890 Sofia BTA in English 1927 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—The Politburo of the CC [Central Committee] of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] confirmed a Central Commission for the preparation of the 14th Extraordinary Congress of the party which, as it is known, will be opened on January 30, 1990, in Sofia.

The commission is chaired by Mr Petur Mladenov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP.

The 70-member commission includes 47 of the present members and alternate members of the Central Committee.

The commission includes also the members and alternate members of the Politburo and the secretaries of the CC of the BCP, and the first secretaries of the nine regional committees of the BCP. There are also Communists in it who had been expelled from the party at the time of Todor Zhivkov's regime like journalist Koprinka Chervenkova, philosophers Nikola Popov and Nikolay Vasilev, who have been rehabilitated after November 10, last year. At present Chervenkova is a secretary of the first faction in the BCP which has been formed recently, an alternative socialist association. Nikolay Vasilev is one of the initiators of this faction.

Some of the members of the commission are members of the Club for Glasnost and Democracy which was persecuted at the time of Zhivkov: writer Stefan Prodev, Professor in Economy Ivan Nikolov, sociologist Chavdar Kyuranov, as well as the already mentioned Vasilev and Chervenkova.

The Professor in Sociology Petur-Emil Mitev was the initiator of the platform Bulgarian Road to Europe, which proposed an alternative program for discussions in the party but did not proclaim itself a faction.

Apart from the party workers the commission includes scholars, eight workers, four writers, three journalists, one artist and one film director.

Social Democratic Party Restored in Stara Zagora

AU1001154290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] In Stara Zagora, the Bulgarian Workers Social Democratic Party (United) resumed its activity, which had been interrupted in 1948. The constituent meeting elected an Okrug Committee, which will direct the efforts of the members toward implementing the program on constructing a human and democratic society of national consensus.

BZNS Leadership Meeting; Cadre Changes

AU0901234390 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 3 Jan 90

[Unattributed report: "BZNS 36th Congress—In Center of Attention"]

[Text] A meeting of the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] took place on 2 January.

Issues related to the 36th Extraordinary BZNS Congress were reviewed. For this purpose five working groups have been formed at the Permanent board. Under its guidance, they will work on problems and tasks that will be solved both during the period that remains until the congress, and at the congress itself.

The issue of introducing a new membership card was discussed. The new document, that will certify the political affiliation of every allied agrarian to the BZNS, will correspond to the willingness of the allied agrarians to rid the membership card of obsolete and unnecessary quotations, and include in it a fundamental thought of Aleksandur Stamoliyski, founder of the BZNS.

In this context, a working group was founded, which is to prepare a proposal for the new membership card. The draft will be discussed and approved at the 24 January 1990 meeting of the BZNS Administrative Council. Immediately afterward the printing of the new membership cards will begin. The present membership card will be taken out of circulation.

The Permanent Board confirmed Svetoslav Shivarov, member of the BZNS Permanent Board, as head of the "Ideological Policy" of the BZNS Permanent board; Vulkan Stoynovski, as head of the "Financial-Administrative" of the BZNS Permanent Board; Ivan Yordanov as acting head of the "Organizational" Department of the BZNS Permanent board; Dragomir Shopov as ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME acting chief editor; Plamen Iliev, until now ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME chief editor, as director of the BZNS Publishing House; and Khristo Khristov as chief editor of LAND AND PROGRESS magazine.

The Permanent Board also discussed issues related to the upcoming BZNS accountability-election meeting. It was pointed out that it reveals great possibilities of restoring the BZNS membership of members repressed after 1945, without interrupting their membership record. In this context an "Appeal to All Allied Agrarians in the Country" was adopted.

Other issues were also reviewed.

'Road to Europe' Platform Reported

AU0901143990 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 3 Jan 90 p 6

[BTA report: "2 January—Topical Chronicle"]

[Text] Sofia, 2 January (BTA)—In an appeal to its supporters, the Coordination Council of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" platform already expressed satisfaction with the decisions of the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP] Central Committee's 29 December 1989 plenum. However, an open letter addressed to the Politburo and Secretariat of the BCP Central Committee, and sent also to BTA, expressed substantial concern with the half-measures for free internal party elections that have been adopted. It is noted that by introducing the principle of competition between candidates for delegates to the congress, there still are no guarantees for propagating different ideological factions, trends, and other groups in the party. Concern is expressed that the Communist again would mechanically elect their delegates, albeit in a more free atmosphere, and thus the BCP again, as in previous years, would appear to be a mass of identically thinking creatures.

The letter insists that the internal party political struggle be conducted in an open manner in front of the entire people; the election of the candidates be done on the basis of their commitment to a specific platform, including the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" platform; rooms and premises be allocated at the buildings of the BCP Central Committee and all BCP oblast and municipal committees to all groups, ideological trends, and factions within the BCP, for work on the basis of equality; space be fairly allocated in the mass media to all; to afford print material and reproduction equipment that belongs to the party for the election campaign; and the equal use of all internal party information channels by all factions and trends be allowed.

The letter insists that the BCP Central Committee allocate the minimum means necessary for the normal activity of all groups participating in the election campaign.

The Plovdiv Initiative Committee on Establishing the Democratic Party of Bulgaria has been legalized. Simultaneously, the Initiative Committee expressed its firm desire to directly participate in the consultative talks on the preparation of the roundtable. This must be done so that the roundtable really reflects the diversity of the political situation in the country, something that could only be guaranteed by the participation of all democratic forces in Bulgaria in the talks.

The Editorial Board has received a declaration of the Democratic Party signed by 15 of its members, which reads:

The Democratic Party was founded at the end of the 19th century by Petko Karavelov, Petko Rachev Slaveykov, Aleko Konstantinov, and many other brilliant personalities of Bulgarian history.

Its legal activity was eliminated in 1947 by the authorities.

Being aware of the urgent need to consolidate all democratic forces in the movement for democracy, pluralism,

defending human rights, and economic and cultural progress, we declare that we resume the legal activity of the Democratic Party.

Further on 'Road to Europe'

AU1001214590 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Jan 90 p 2

[Dora Chichkova report: "Difficult Road to Europe"]

[Text] Hall 65 of the Sofia Kliment Okhridski University was not large enough to provide space for all the supporters of the "Bulgarian Road to Europe" platform who yesterday came to attend the first big public debates. This restriction, however, the time limit of the meeting, and the order of statements contributed to making the dialogue even more constructive. All the more so, since another, much more serious time-limit was imposed on the meeting, namely the fact that few days are left until the party congress, the immediate goal of the initiators being that the platform should reach as many Communists as possible, and that through them it should influence the election of delegates.

The authors of the platform basically support other ideological currents and factions within the party which are working for the party's de-Stalinization, but they think that the consolidation of anti-Stalinist forces is particularly important at this very moment, in the immediate precongress period.

For this reason, the stormy and emotional statements were not so much directed toward the controversial issues, as toward issues which are not sufficiently developed in the platform and do not permit some Communists to determine their attitude to it. Specific proposals were submitted for expressing a clear stand on the issues of youth, de-ideologization of the Army, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the nationality issue, and so forth.

Dr. Petur-Emil Mitev, chairman of the platform's coordination council, appealed to the initiative of local supporters of the platform to organize themselves, to collect signatures, and engage in active propaganda for the principles and ideas of innovating the party contained in the draft project.

Dimitrov Meets With Turkish Counterpart in Kuwait

AU0901233090 Sofia BTA in English 2243 GMT 9 Jan 90

["Political Will Is There"—BTA headline]

[Text] Kuwait, January 9 (BTA special correspondent)—Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, began his meeting here today with his Turkish counterpart, Mr Mesut Yilmaz. Before retiring for their tete-a-tete talks, they were greeted with best wishes for success by Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of foreign affairs of Kuwait. He stressed that this second Bulgarian-Turkish meeting at such a high level clearly shows the two countries' intention to carry on the dialogue on an activation of their mutual cooperation and on a settlement of the problems existing between them.

According to the Kuwaiti host, the beginning of this positive process which was set here on October 30, 1989, came as a result of the importance which the leaders of the two countries, Mr Petur Mladenov and Mr Turgut Ozal, attach to the Bulgarian-Turkish dialogue arranged with the goodwill mission of H.R.H. the Amir of Kuwait, Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah.

After the short greetings address, the chief Bulgarian and Turkish diplomats began their talks behind closed doors. The importance and the complexity of the discussions were evident by the mere duration of the session which lasted for more than eight hours. After it was completed, Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, attended a short briefing at which he described his impressions of the talks with his Turkish opposite number, Mr Mesut Yilmaz.

He emphasized that the state and the prospects of Bulgarian-Turkish relations had been considered in the context of the vigorous changes taking place in the world, in East Europe and in Bulgaria where the social system undergoes unprecedented democratization after the overthrow of the totalitarian and bureaucratic regime. In these completely different conditions it is only natural that a need should arise to place Bulgarian-Turkish relations on a new stable and mutually advantageous basis. In direct connection with this, the Turkish minister had been told that Bulgaria does not have and has never had any historical and legal grounds to recognize a so-called Turkish minority. On the basis of such claims some Turkish bodies and propaganda are still trying to manipulate part of society in Bulgaria and to foment separatist tendencies. In connection with this and with the unjustifiably heavy Turkish troop concentration along the border with Bulgaria, it had been proposed to Mr Mesut Yilmaz that a joint document be signed whereby both countries will be guided by the principles of the United Nations and of the Helsinki Final Act and will settle all their disputes by peaceful means.

Mr Boyko Dimitrov emphasized that the Turkish side had taken into consideration some ideas about the promotion of bilateral cooperation. Naturally, however, this will require specific action.

"Despite the differences in the proposals and in the assessments of the past and the present state of bilateral relations," the Bulgarian minister said, "the session of talks was held in a candid, well-intentioned and constructive tone. The open-minded tone and the political will expressed by both countries have created conditions to carry on the dialogue." It had been agreed that the two ministers meet next month in Ottawa where the CSCE "open sky" conference will be held.

It has transpired after the completion of the discussions that owing to the absence of the Kuwaiti foreign minister, at the request of the hosts the talks will be formally declared closed tomorrow, when a joint statement will be released for publication.

Departs for Cyprus

AU1001153490 Sofia BTA in English 1417 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—Today the talks between Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, and Mr Mesut Yilmaz, minister of foreign affairs of Turkey were officially closed in the Bayan Palace. The joint communique stresses the mediation of Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, Amir of Kuwait and chairman of the Fifth Summit Level Islamic Conference.

In an open and constructive atmosphere the two foreign ministers held a comprehensive discussion of the present situation and the prospect of Bulgarian-Turkish relations. The two sides agree that a further review of bilateral relations should be made at future talks, it is said in the communique.

The ministers expressed the political will of their governments for improving the two countries' relations on a sound and mutually advantageous basis.

An agreement was reached for a new meeting during the CSCE "Open Sky" Conference in Ottawa which opens on February 12 and will be held through February 15, 1990.

The ministers expressed their gratitude to the Amir of Kuwait and his Government for the initiative and the excellent conditions ensured for the meeting, it is said in the communique.

Minister Boyko Dimitrov gave a press conference, before which he had a short farewell talk with Mr Hamid al-Ghabid, secretary general of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

The Bulgarian foreign minister summarized his impressions of the talks saying they were open, goodwilled and constructive. It is the very spirit of the meeting that paved the way for continuing the dialogue which will help settle the difficulties and the problems of Bulgaro-Turkish relations. Minister Boyko Dimitrov expressed the concern of the Bulgarian public over the behaviour and the ambitions of certain circles in Turkey concerning Bulgaria, expressing hopes at the same time that the Turkish Government will show the necessary will for building the two countries' relations in the spirit of the new time and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Concerning the differences in the two countries' assessments and positions the journalists were briefed about the concrete proposals made by the Bulgarian side aimed at placing the relations between Bulgaria and Turkey on a universally humane basis by abiding in full to the principles laid down in the Helsinki Final Act.

Minister Boyko Dimitrov expressed hopes that the moderate and goodwilled approach of the two interlocutors in Kuwait, backed up by concrete deeds in the future, will have a favourable impact not only on the two countries' cooperation but on the general political climate in the Balkans.

After the press conference the Bulgarian foreign minister had a meeting with Shaykh Sabah al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah, deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of Kuwait, who congratulated Mr Boyko Dimitrov on his useful mission in Kuwait and wished him success in his future activity.

Today in the afternoon the Bulgarian delegation left by plane for Cyprus.

Today, as it has been for the last few days, all Kuwaiti mass media and the news agencies of the Arab countries in the region have brought out extensive features on the Bulgarian-Turkish meeting in Kuwait. All announcements and commentaries point out that on January 9 the Bulgarian Foreign Minister Boyko Dimitrov and his Turkish counterpart, Mr Mesut Yilmaz, made an important step towards the settlement of all points at issue and based the Bulgarian-Turkish dialogue on reason and humaneness. Along with the optimism regarding the future normalization of the relations between the two neighbouring Balkan countries, all features stress the good will shown in Kuwait on the part of the state leaderships of Bulgaria and Turkey, which is the main guarantee for future and more productive bilateral contacts.

Dimitrov Arrives in Athens; Greeted by Samaras

AU1101110990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Our special correspondent Martin Minkov reports from Athens:

[Begin Martin Minkov recording] After Cyprus, Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Athens, where he was greeted by Andonios Samaras, Greek minister of foreign affairs. Apporximatley 1 hour ago, a working meeting began between the Bulgarian and Greek foreign ministers at the building of the Greek Ministry of foreign Affairs. [end recording]

Holds Talks

AU1101094790 Sofia BTA in English 0818 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Larnaka, January 11 (BTA special correspondent)—Mr Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs, arrived in Larnaka last night and was welcomed by his Cyprus counterpart, Mr Yeoryios Iakovou. The two ministers had a working meeting. Mr Iakovou congratulated his Bulgarian guest on his first visit to Cyprus and

stressed that the people of Cyprus are following closely the recent momentous changes in East Europe and in friendly Bulgaria.

Mr Iakovou told the press after the completion of the talks that his Bulgarian counterpart had briefed him on the results of the meeting in Kuwait with the Turkish foreign minister, Mr Mesut Yilmaz. Mr Boyko Dimitrov and Mr Yeoryios Iakovou had also considered the present situation in Cyprus and had agreed to keep working through the UN and with concerted efforts for peace and security in Europe.

The Bulgarian minister briefed his host on restructuring in Bulgaria, stressing that the overthrow of the authoritarian regime and the ensuing foreign policy revision will not affect old friends. He reaffirmed the desire of the Bulgarian people and of the country's leadership to pursue the traditional contacts with Cyprus by seeking new mutually advantageous forms and areas. Bulgaria reaffirmed its solidarity with the people of Cyprus and its willingness for more active cooperation under the new circumstances with a view to achieving a just and durable negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem.

Late last night Mr Boyko Dimitrov conferred with Mr Dhimitrios Khristofias, secretary general of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL).

Parliamentary Contacts With Portugal Noted

AU0901155790 Sofia BTA in English 1447 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—A parliamentary delegation of Portugal headed by Mr Vitor Crespo [spelling as received], president of the Assembly of the Republic, today has a meeting with a delegation of the Bulgarian National Assembly led by its chairman, Mr Stanko Todorov. The delegations discussed the situation and the prospects of Bulgaro-Portuguese relations and the two Parliaments' contribution to their activation.

The two delegations exchanged information on the sociopolitical life in their countries.

BCP Newspaper To Disband, Reorganize

AU1001194290 Sofia BTA in English 1916 GMT 10 Jan 90

["BCP Primary Organisaton Disbands Itself"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 10 (BTA)—The BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] primary organisation at the editorial office of the Ruse DUNAVSKA PRAVDA daily today resolved to cease to exist on a workplace basis. This is an unprecedented decision in the structure of the BCP.

Having assessed the sociopolitical situation in the country since November 10, 1989 and the increased responsibility of the mass media under the new conditions, the BCP member journalists believe that in future their paper should give an unbiased civil platform to all progressive forces which want democratic reforms in the city. It should be independent of the influence of an individual party, a sociopolitical, or an independent movement.

The BCP members employed at the editorial office suggest that a new BCP primary organization be formed on an occupational basis to bring together all BCP members working at the mass media in Ruse.

Textile Plant Shuts Down for Lack of Fuel

AU1001171290 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 9 Jan 90 p 2

[Text] Ruse, 8 January (BTA)—This morning the workers in the first shift at the "Dunavska Koprina" Silk Fabric Plant in Ruse were sent home. As of today, the enterprise is shutting down its production process until further notice because the last reserves of its main fuel—heavy fuel oil—have been exhausted.

According to information from the leadership of the "Petroleum" Economic Enterprise in Ruse, the outlook is alarming. Toward the end of the week a tanker is expected to arrive in the port of Varna with a cargo of imported fuel oil. However, it will take 5-6 days to ship this oil to Ruse.

The question is why has this situation been allowed to arise, and who is responsible for the fact that the required amount of fuel oil was not secured within the prescribed time at the end of last year? We hope that someone is available to give a speedy and authoritative answer. The 800 textile workers of the Ruse plant are also awaiting this answer. Every day on which they are unable to work, 35,000 meters of high-quality silk fabrics will be lost to the domestic and foreign markets, a loss that it will be difficult to make up for later.

Zhivkov Family Property Investigated

AU1001073690 Sofia BTA in English 2355 GMT 9 Jan 90

["Parliament Panel Considers Probe Into Zhivkov Property"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 9 (BTA)—The Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry Into the Abuses of the Ousted Regime today met to consider the property status of Todor Zhivkov and his family. The copyright royalties and the excessive public expenses on the publication of the numerous writings of the former head of state and BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] leader Todor Zhivkov give grounds to initiate investigative proceedings. The commission considered the inquiries made by the Bulgarian Foreign Trade Bank and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in connection with the suspicions about foreign bank accounts. "Investigative action may be contemplated as necessary," said Mr Lyuben Kulishev, member of the parliamentary commission, in a televised statement after the panel and the experts it had summoned held their first session.

CSSR-Polish Confederation Discussed; Talks Held

Dienstbier Dismisses Rumors

AU1001212990 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 8 Jan 90 pp 1, 3

["(HD)"-signed report: "Interview With J. Dienstbier"]

[Text] While he was at Ruzyne Airport in Prague to welcome a delegation from the U.S.-based Council for a Free Czechoslovakia, we took the opportunity to ask CSSR Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier about the agenda for his upcoming foreign tour. "It will be an exceptionally full one. On Wednesday [10 January], I fly to Warsaw and then to Budapest. Later, I am going to Venice to attend a European Council conference; I will probably make a stop in Vienna. I have been invited to Stockholm and, in the meantime, the Italian and Belgian foreign ministers will come here. At the moment, one invitation after the other is arriving; there is a great deal of interest in Czechoslovakia. This expression of the international community's support is extremely important," said J. Dienstbier.

In reply to another question about his response to a statement made by Z. Brzezinski, who last week came up with the idea of establishing a Czechoslovak-Polish confederation, J. Dienstbier said: "This is a proposal put forward by an U.S. political scientist of Polish origin. I personally do not think nor, obviously, do any Poles think that we can resolve the situation with some kind of direct Czechoslovak-Polish confederation or federation. Our problems are extremely different. The issue is for us all to integrate ourselves into Europe."

Dienstbier on Upcoming Visit

LD1001140790 Prague in Czech to Europe 2230 9 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] Prague: Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, granted an interview to Radio Prague before his departure for Poland and Hungary. In reply to the question on what is he going to discuss with Polish partners and what he expects from the visit, he said:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] Above all this will be a visit to get acquainted—both for Poland and Hungary. I shall meet the foreign minister, premier, and president and will also meet representatives of Solidarity in the parliament and other friends whom we used to meet previously in our border area. We shall, in fact, be speaking for the first time in this situation about all the problems concerning Czechoslovak-Polish relations, in order to make their list, so to speak, and to find out what can be solved immediately and what can be solved in the near future. It is necessary to discuss some economic relations. However, the situation in our countries is very different indeed, and thus we shall have to look for ways of cooperation, new methods of cooperation, because the old ones, the obsolete ones, when we only used to exchange goods—these, as we know, led to nothing. [end recording]

[Announcer] Minister Dienstbier then gave his views on whether he would discuss with Polish representatives the possible confederation between the states as proposed by Zbigniew Brzezinski. He said:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] I think that discussion of confederations would be somewhat premature, and on the whole we are interested in united Europe where, practically, frontiers have no importance, not in creating some kind of regional bloc. [end recording]

[Announcer] In reply to a question of a Radio Prague correspondent whether the visit to Hungary which will follow will differ in any fundamental way from the visit to Poland, Minister Dienstbier replied:

[Begin Dienstbier recording] It will be very similar, only with the difference that some specific problems are different. I think that today with the new government we shall view in a different way such giant-mania projects as the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros, and so on. I think that both in Hungary and in Poland the visits will be very friendly indeed, without any great problems as far as the will on both sides is concerned, but, naturally, with great problems, which do not proceed so much from international relations but from the situation in which Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary find themselves. [end recording]

Dienstbier Receives Polish Envoy

LD1001114490 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1000 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier received in Prague today Wlodzimierz Mokrzyszczak, Polish ambassador to Czechoslovakia.

In connection with the forthcoming visit of Jiri Dienstbier to Poland, they discussed mutual relations between the two countries and confirmed their interest in their further development.

Dienstbier Departs for Poland

LD1001162190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1600 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Dienstbier has left for a 2-day visit to the Polish People's Republic. The visit is taking place at the invitation of his Polish counterpart, Krzystof Skubiszewski.

Group Asks About Pact Intervention Preparations

LD1101110190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0930 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] A group of Czechoslovak historians, employees of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, archives, and other organizations have sent a letter to Alexander

Dubcek, chairman of the Federal Assembly, in which they ask for clarification of circumstances of the alleged preparation of intervention of Warsaw Pact countries against Poland in 1980. Two divisions of the Czechoslovak People's Army were to take part in it, too. Historians are asking to establish whether this information is true, for our highest representative body to adopt a stand on this and to publish the facts.

Havel Plans Poland Visit; Views Reunification

LD1001215190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2100 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Polish radio announced this evening that Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel is to make an official visit to Poland toward the end of January. According to the same source, Vaclav Havel was invited to visit by his Polish counterpart Wojciech Jaruselski.

An interview with Vaclav Havel will be published tomorrow by the Hamburg weekly STERN. It states among other things that the Czechoslovak president believes that the two German states will be united. Nevertheless, he emphasized that the unification of Germany will only be possible when Germans prove by their attitude that no one need be afraid of them any more. It is not a matter of how many inhabitants Germany has but rather whether a united Germany will be democratic, the Czechoslovak president said.

In this interview, Vaclav Havel also concerned himself with the expulsion of Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia. He condemned it and described the principle of collective guilt—which was one of the causes of the expulsion—as an immoral principle. In his words, all citizens who committed treason or other acts should have been tried by independent courts. They should not have been deprived of their homes under the principle of collective guilt.

Havel, Dubcek Receive Romanian Envoy 9 Jan

LD0901164790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] CSSR President Vaclav Havel received today Gheorghe Homostean, ambassador of the Republic of Romania to Czechoslovakia, in connection with the end of his diplomatic mission.

On this occasion the ambassador conveyed to the president the great gratitude of Romania to the Czechoslovak people for the humanitarian and moral support and solidarity.

Alexander Dubcek, chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly, has received on a courtesy visit today Toncho Chakurov, Bulgarian ambassador to Czechoslovakia. He also received Gheorghe Homostean, ambassador of the Republic of Romania to Czechoslovakia, in connection with the end of his diplomatic mission to Czechoslovakia.

Calfa Returns From Sofia CEMA Meeting

LD1001221890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1900 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Excerpt] A Czechoslovak delegation, led by Premier Marian Calfa, returned from Sofia today. [passage omitted]

Spokesman on Diplomatic Relations With Israel

LD0901123690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Foreign Ministry Spokesman Lubos Dobrovsky said at a press briefing that the establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel will probably be accelerated. It is already apparent today, judging from the current Czechoslovak-Israeli talks in Tel Aviv, that the talks will take less time than planned, despite a number of obstacles.

Ties To Resume 'in 2 to 3 Months'

LD1101113890 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Israel—Czechoslovakia is to renew diplomatic relations with Israel in 2 to 3 months. This was reported by well-informed sources to the Foreign Ministry in Jerusalem. The Czechoslovak delegation has indicated that it would be willing to sign agreements in the spheres of economy, industry, tourism, agriculture, and culture.

Dienstbier Receives UK Ambassador 8 Jan

LD0801124190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Minister of Foreign Affairs Jiri Dienstbier had a meeting in Prague today with [Peter] Laurence O'Koeffe, the ambassador of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. They discussed the further development of Czechoslovak-British relations.

Belgian Foreign Minister To Visit Prague

AU0601210090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 4 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report from the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] CSSR Foreign Affairs Minister Jiri Dienstbier received Count Henri Beyens, ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium to Czechoslovakia, on Wednesday [3 January]. They discussed, inter alia, preparations for a visit to Czechoslovakia by Mark Eyskens, Belgian minister of foreign relations.

Portugal's Soares Concludes Visit 2 Jan

AU0901061090 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jan 90 p 3

["CTK, zr"-signed report: "From the Stay of M. Soares"]

[Excerpt] Prague— Portuguese President Mario Soares paid a visit to Czechoslovakia from 27 to 30 December at the invitation of the Civic Forum. He met in Prague with Vaclav Havel, Alexander Dubcek, Cardinal Tomasek, student representatives, and some other figures. During the visit he presented to V. Havel as a gift a Renault 21 automobile. On Saturday [30 December] he and Vaclav Havel laid flowers at the St Wenceslas Statue in Prague. Mario Soares left Czechoslovakia the same evening. [passage omitted]

[Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech on 2 January on page 1 carries a 150-word caption under a picture of Vaclav Havel, which notes that the president uses the Renault 21 as his official limousine]

Havel, Calfa Greet Cuba on National Day

AU0901062690 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report from the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] CSSR President Vaclav Havel and CSSR Premier Marian Calfa sent a joint telegram of congratulations to Fidel Castro Ruz, president of the Council of State and of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, on the occasion of his country's national day.

Statement Issued on Moravia's Rights

LD1001150790 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1400 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Moravian civic movement issued today a statement on ensuring the full rights and identity of Moravia in Czechoslovakia. The document is supported by the human right for the homeland, by historical, ethnic, georgaphical, and above all economic argumentation. The aim is to abolish the bureaucratic regional administrational structure and to create an all-Moravian central administration.

Prisoners Riot, Take Over Part of Prison

AU1101094390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jan 90 p 1

[Vladimir Duduc and Jana Casnochova report: "Revolt in Leopoldov; Inmates Take Over Part of Prison"]

[Text] Leopoldov (From our own correspondents)—An inmates' revolt has erupted at the Leopoldov corrective education institution.

From information gained so far, it arises that after Thursday's [4 January] television program Aktuality—in which P. Pochyly, an inmate who has just been released and who has been entrusted with speaking on behalf of convicts, made an appearance—those who remained in custody rioted. They demanded that the cells be opened and that there be freedom of movement; they threw dinner plates out of windows. They began attacking members of the Corrective Education Corps [SNV] and took over part of the cell block. The SNV members were forced to abandon this part of the cell block and are keeping this area under surveillance from the old fortress' watch towers. So far, there have been no casualties. However, it has been impossible to ascertain whether the prisoners are holding any hostages.

The inmates demolished equipment in the 16 workshops where they work and cut off the electricity supply. Some of them have been transferred from Leopoldov to other places—obviously, to other corrective education institutions. The reason for the revolt, so far, is unknown but it could be that the inmates' demand for a general amnesty has not been fulfilled.

Representatives of the Slovak National Council [SNR] have arrived in Leopoldov. However, we have been unable to ascertain specifically who they are and whether the inmates requested this visit or whether the SNR representatives came on their own initiative. Access to the building is strictly prohibited; hence, also to the mass information media. All access roads have been closed and are being patrolled by police officers.

Just one more thing: People who belong to the third corrective education group, people who have committed the most serious crimes, are serving their sentences in Leopoldov. As a rule, these crimes involve deeds to which the president's amnesty does not apply—murder, terror, robbery, and so on.

Havel To Visit Slovakia 12 Jan

LD1001115990 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Vaclav Havel, president of the Republic, will pay an official working visit to the Slovak Socialist Republic at the invitation of Rudolf Schuster, chairman of the Slovak National Council. He will arrive at Bratislava airport by a special plane on 12 January at 1000 [0900 GMT].

'Unofficial' Alteration Made to National Anthem

AU1001125790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jan 90 p 3

["(OZ)"-signed report: "So Far, An Unofficial Alteration to the Anthem"]

[Text] A number of readers have noticed that at some recent public demonstrations not "...let us pause, brothers..." but "... let us stop them, brothers..." has been sung in the Slovak part of the Czechoslovak national anthem. We asked Dr. Adriana Ferencikova of the Slovak Academy of Sciences Linguistics Institute in Bratislava for an explanation. From her reply it is evident that this alteration corresponds to the historic text of this Stur song, as is proven by its facsimile. This specification of the text is one of the reflections of popular movement in our country. However, so far there has been no official alteration to the text of our national anthem.

Magnesite Output Cut; Workers Sent Home

AU0901060390 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Jan 90 p 1

["edk"-signed report: "Less Noxious Dust"]

[Text] Kosice (from our correspondent)— The first working day [in 1990] in the Kosice plant of the Slovak Magnesite Works brought not only less magnesite dust over the almost 250,000-soul East Slovak capital but also a reduction of output.

A resolution is thus being implemented that has been passed by the councils of the Kosice City National Committee and the East Slovak Regional National Committee, which decided to discontinue magnesite production in two rotary furnaces of the Kosice plant. Only two furnaces remain in operation, both of which are equipped with "Amertherm" dust filters from the FRG. The originally 1,700 tonnes of noxious dust a year discharged into the atmosphere will thus be reduced to approximately 250 tonnes.

The 50 percent cut in production in rotary furnaces also means, however, that magnesite mining in the Bankov Mine will be limited 50 percent. As a result of these measures, there will also be a reduction in the labor force. As we were told, the first to leave are employees with a poor disciplinary record and some 90 employees of retirement age. Others are to be transferred to other workplaces, to be able to return after the completion of the first stage of the construction of the new plant of the Slovak Magnesite Works at Bociar approximately in 1992. The enterprise management also expressed thanks to workers from Hungary, which the Kosice plant has been employing thus far, for their cooperation.

Klaus Vows To Pursue 'Radical' Economic Reform

LD0501143390 Prague CTK in English 1330 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 5 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government, though aware of its temporary mandate and the more unpopular measures it takes the lesser is its chance of surviving, is in spite of this ready to carry out the program of radical economic changes, Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus told Thursday's press conference here.

He said that "in the sphere of retail prices the government intends to come up with considerable changes not after a long time but still now although it is probably cutting off the branch it is sitting on".

Of his recent visit to Poland Klaus said he and Minister Balcerowicz, the main architect of Polish economic reforms, "had a good laugh when saying that if their stabilization plan fails as well as their intentions they would go to some world university together and write a book "How Reforms of Centrally Planned Economies Should Not Be Done".

Minister Klaus returned to his trip to Poland once again when he said: "I must admit I was speedily sent there by the premier so that we economists might reach agreement before the foreign minister cuts some wires again".

Government Appeal to Czechoslovaks in Exile

AU0901223190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 5 Jan 90 p 1

[Unattributed CTK report: "Appeal by the CSSR Government to Former Czechoslovak Citizens Living abroad," adopted on 4 January]

[Text] Esteemed compatriots, Czechs, Slovaks, or members of ethnic minorities, if you perceive Czechoslovakia as your old homeland, regardless of whether you left for political or economic reasons during the crisis of the thirties, after Munich [1938], after 1948, 1968, or later, or whether you were born abroad, the government of the Republic greatly appreciates your successes in the world, which have brought many of you into key positions in all walks of life. The youth and the people of Czechoslovakia have succeeded in finding the lost key toward the past and future of our peoples. In this future it will depend only upon us, our talent, skills, and our hard work whether Czechoslovakia will once again become one of the most advanced countries in the world, respected for its democracy, its economy, its social accomplishments, its educational standards, and its culture. The government of the Republic asks you, compatriots all over the world, to forget old wrongs and participate with your experience, contacts, and resources in the renewal of the republic in the spirit of the new national understanding. We neither prescribe the methods of your activity nor do we set any limits to it. Everything is a matter of your free will and direct agreement with partners whom you will yourselves choose in our country and whose only obligation will be to consider the benefit which this will bring to the entire community. Esteemed compatriots, in their demonstrations in November and December 1989, the young generation of Czechoslovakia voted also for the return of the ideals of freedom and humanity, for life in the European home according to their conception of it, [a home] which would bring closer the era of peace, social security, and spiritual blossoming all over the world. Do, therefore, also help renew the legacy of Tomas Garrique Masaryk, first president of the Czechoslovak Republic. With wishes for a successful year 1990 for all of us, [signed] CSSR Government.

Statistics on New CPCZ Central Committee

AU1001173790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 6 Jan 90 p 1

[Vaclav Pergl article: "The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee Meets Today"]

[Excerpt] The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee is meeting today for its first session after being elected at the Extraordinary CPCZ

Congress. The 140 comrades will not meet in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle, as has been the custom for years, but in the building of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Let us call to mind the fact that only four members of the old CPCZ Central Committee are in the new Central Committee; all others are new people. The average age of this plenum is 40.2. A quarter of the Central Committee members have been party members for fewer than 10 years; 82 members, which is over 57 percent, are workers by original profession.

Surely, figures are not what matters most, but they still signal that this really is a qualitatively new plenum of the CPCZ Central Committee. [passage omitted on planned agenda of the 6 January Central Committee meeting]

Spokesman Speaks on CPCZ Reorganization, Pay

LD1001150990 Prague CTK in English 1413 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 10 (CTK)—"The Czechoslovak Communist Party apparatus at all levels will be cut by 80.3 percent, i.e. 8,488 persons. The absolute reduction concerns committees for party work in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Czechoslovak and Slovak Communist Party regional committees which are being abolished", Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium spokesman Josef Hora told CTK today.

"The Central Committee apparatus will be reduced by 77 percent... We do not make a concrete statistics of those who cannot find jobs, but the Central Committee has set up a consultation service to help the dismissed party employees find new jobs, and a solidarity fund to support the party Central Committee", he said.

Josef Hora pointed out that 2,082 people will be engaged in the party apparatus in the future, while the Central Committee will further employ 198 people from the current 894 apparatus members.

The buildings of district and regional communist party committees will be transferred at local levels. The Central Committee will hand over its building to the Prague 1 district national committee for further use under the condition of obtaining an adequate substitute, Josef Hora said.

The new party leadership strives to inform the party members about the former purpose of their membership fees. It tries to find out the ways of financial practice of the former leadership. The results of this search should be submitted to the upcoming session of the Central Committee Political Executive Committee, the spokesman said.

Communist heads of departments, secretaries and the general secretary were paid in a special way. The income of heads of departments was 12,000 crowns, the average income of secretaries of the former party Central Committee was about 17,000 crowns and the general secretary's income was 26,000 crowns (out of this sum 8,000 crowns were not taxed). These functionaries had the same advantages as government officials.

The new leadership of the Communist Party ensues from the wage scale valid for all political parties and social organizations of the National Front. The income of a departmental head is at present between 4,700-7,000 crowns. The taxable income of the chairman and first secretary of the party is between 6,000-9,000 crowns, with a 3,000-crown extra charge for the function. Secretaries of the party Central Committee will obtain 5,500-7,000 crowns with a 1,500-crown extra charge. A similar situation is in other political parties and social organizations of the National Front, Hora said.

5 Groups Backing Civic Forum Platform Meet

LD0901231590 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Representatives of new parties and initiatives standing on the Civic Forum platform have met in Prague. They are:

The Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative, the Czechoslovak Party of Free Democrats, the Liberal European Party, the Civic Democratic Allience, and the Republican Union.

With regard to the closeness of their expressed principles and goals, they have agreed on mutual cooperation and coordination of activity.

Democratic Communists Call for Strong Left Wing

LD1512223789 Prague CTK in English 1549 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 15 (CTK)—The Democratic Forum of Communists (DFK) believes in the existence of strong left-wing democratic movement also in the future, DFK Spokesman Rudolf Prevratil told journalists here today.

He added that the forthcoming extraordinary congress of the communist party will show whether this movement can emerge within the framework of the party. This will depend on whether the radical democratic stream will win at the congress.

The spokesman also said that the DFK leadership yesterday turned to Communist Party General Secretary Karel Urbanek with a demand that 50 DFK members be accepted as guests to the congress and that they be given the right to propose members of the party's new central committee.

He also pointed out that a dangerous tendency of persecution of communists is occurring in Czechoslovakia, which could lead to the destabilization of the situation in the country. He stressed that the DFK will continue to stand at the side of honest communists and defend their right to work and normal existence in society.

The spokesman said that the DFK insists on its proposal that the president be elected in a referendum.

Answering journalists' questions Prevratil stressed that the DFK was not founded to split the communist party. However, a situation may arise when it will be necessary to found a new party. This will to a great extent depend on the results of the extraordinary party congress.

Adopt Resolutions

AU1912162589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 15 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Why Did We Come?; Resolutions Adopted by the Democratic Forum of Communists at Thursday's Demonstration"]

[Text] We came today to express our point of view as Communists and as citizens of this country.

Communists cannot contribute to building a democratic state if their party is not democratic.

We are aware that, while building a democratic, pluralist, and socially just society, every citizen will have to make sacrifices. But no one must be sacrificed.

All power in Czechoslovakia must ultimately belong to the people; therefore, we demand that self-government be implemented in all spheres of life. We reject any kind of monopoly on power.

We want guarantees of justice and democracy. Therefore, we demand:

—that the background to the abuse of power on 17 November in Prague be revealed

—the fulfillment of all of today's democratic demands, especially, the complete disbandment of the People's Militia, equal rights for all political movements, and legal guarantees for people's freedom and social certainties.

We reject all forms of violence and totalitarianism.

Democracy in the party requires:

—close links between rank and file Communists and the center

—the leadership's direct accountability to the membership

—only the truth in RUDE PRAVO, and the minority's right to publish its point of view in all the party press

—party unity to build on the unity of opinions; the abolition of democratic centralism

—the creation of conditions for transferring employees in the party apparatus and other organs to needy spheres of the national economy

—publication of all cases of corruption and abuse of power.

We call upon all party members who in the past violated the law or abused their position to leave the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]. We demand the resignation of the whole CPCZ Central Committee.

We called this demonstration to support the fulfillment of these demands. If the party leadership cannot support these demands, we cannot support the CPCZ leadership and we will appeal to other Communists to follow us.

Hold Meeting

LD0601225390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Jan 90

[Summary] Thousands of people were present at today's meeting of the Democratic Forum of Communists to discuss the movement's future action. The most important task will be the preparation for free elections, when it will be necessary to activate the whole of the Czechoslovak left to gain the trust of electors.

In this connection, (Pavel Smutny), member of the statewide coordination center of the Democratic Forum of Communists, explained the new organizational rules of the Democratic Forum of Communists which will be printed next week in the daily press. He emphasized that the Democratic Forum will not evade future cooperation with any party or movement on the platform of democracy and social justice.

Among the many views expressed are requirements that the mass media should give more attention and space to the left-wing movements, so that our society may develop in a truly democratic direction, with a balanced plurality of views.

Prague National Front Committee Presidium Meets

LD0812145889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1400 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] The Presidium of the National Front City Committee held a session in Prague today. Present at the session were also representatives of the Club of Deputies of the Czechoslovak People's Party and the Czechoslovak Socialist Party.

They acquainted themselves with proposals for a new composition of the council and leadership of the National Committee in Prague, which emerged from coalition deliberations among representives of political parties. They approved the proposal that the 20-member Council should include 8 deputies from the Czechoslovak Communist Party, 4 from the People's Party, 4 from the Socialist Party, and 4 nonparty members.

Three candidates from the ranks of the Czechoslovak Communist Party have been put forward for the office of mayor, while candidates for his deputies are from the Czechoslovak People's Party, the Socialist Party, and one nonaffiliated.

A nonaffiliated deputy has been put forward as a candidate for the office of the chairman of the People's Control Committee of the National Committee in Prague.

Prague Socialists Leave

AU1101120590 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 3 Jan 90 p 1

["ht"-signed report: "They Left the National Front"]

[Text] Prague— Yesterday's session of the Presidium of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party City Committee in Prague assessed the current situation as regards the activity of the National Front. It noted that, essentially, the National Front does not function at present and, hence, does not play its role. Jan Neuzil, secretary of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party City Committee, told us that, on the basis of these conclusions, the Presidium decided that the city organization of the Czechoslovak Socialist Party will leave the National Front. At the same time, it recalled its representatives from the Prague National Front City Committee.

New Parties Admitted Into Slovak National Front

AU2712091189 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Apropos New Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Members"]

[Text] Bratislava—Yesterday in Bratislava, the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] National Front Central Committee Presidium held a session chaired by Dusan Janota. In his introduction, he briefed Presidium members on cadre nominations for the democratic representation of political parties, social organizations, and special interest groups in the Slovak SR National Front Central Committee Presidium as well as on the work he has carried out so far as the entrusted chairman of the Slovak SR National Front Central Committee. Because of a specific request, the Presidium also discussed a proposal that the following organizations be accepted as Slovak SR National Front members: Party for the Trend of the Third Millennium; Party for Democratic Socialism; Czechoslovak Agricultural Party; Christian Democratic Movement; Slovak Foundation; Unity of Pensioners; Slovak Men's Union; and Slovak Boy Scouts. Daniel Futej asked to be released from his post as acting deputy chairman of the Slovak SR National Front Central Committee. Leadership of the Slovak SR National Front Central Committee apparatus was entrusted to Olga Marhulikova, a Slovak SR National Front Central Committee secretary.

UK To Help Found Conservative Party

LD0301134390 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 3 Jan 89

[Text] Great Britain—The Conservative Council for Eastern Europe has announced that it is helping to organize in Eastern Europe political parties which have not existed there for 40 years. According to Henry Bellingham, chairman of the council and member of the House of Commons, a conference will be held in Prague 12-14 January which will assist in the formation of the foundation of a conservative party in Czechoslovakia before the free elections.

Agrarian Party To Be Established

LD0901203790 Prague CTK in English 1359 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Prague, Jan 9 (CTK)—"We want to cooperate with all parties in Czechoslovakia which will be purged of all negative phenomena of the past". Frantisek Trnka, secretary of the Preparatory Committee for the Establishment of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party the congress of which will take place on January 13 in Zadverice near Zlin (South Moravia), said at a press conference here today.

"We dissociate ourselves from the past policy of the Czechoslovak party leadership, but we do not want to denounce the good which was built in Czechoslovak agriculture", Frantisek Trnka continued. He refused the accusation of a part of the Czechoslovak public that the prepared program of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party is nearly the same as that of the Communist Party. In connection with the expected Agrarian Party membership, he stated that some 300,000 members are expected to represent the interests of almost 2 million workers in agriculture, forestry and food industry in Czechoslovakia.

News Conference

LD0901233390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] The representatives of the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party Preparatory Committee held a news conference in Prague today, 4 days before the beginning of their congress. (Miroslav Dietrich) is in charge of agriculture in our editorial office, and I therefore asked him for a few of his observations from the news conference.

[Begin (Dietrich) recording] The Czechoslovak Agrarian Party intends to defend, first and foremost, the interests of all farmers. That means the members of the united agricultural cooperatives and state farms, workers at food processing plants, and also—and this is an important point—the private farmers. The party's platform, which will be added to and amended at the congress, includes the rehabilitation of all unjustly persecuted farmers from the period of collectivization, people who were stripped of their property and many of whom were imprisoned.

It also includes the rectification of the errors and dilettante decisions concerning our countryside. The dominant feature, of course, will be the implementation of the decisions of the center, which will not prevent the

farmers and food industry workers from effectively producing foodstuffs, which will be backing not only the development of farming, but the development of all countryside, which is more or less dependent on the development of agriculture.

The party also intends to implement equal conditions for all forms of ownership, including private ownership. I think it is important to stress that the Czechoslovak Agrarian Party is of nationwide nature and that it at present time functions in practically all districts of Czechoslovakia. [end recording]

Green Party Adopts 'Joint Course of Action'

LD1612102289 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 0600 GMT 16 Dec 89

[Text] Representatives of the Green Party preparatory committees from Brno, Ostrava, and Bratislava have agreed on a joint course of action in building the party. It proceeds from their statement that the Green Party will use political means in promoting an all-round improvement of the quality of life and environment. The Czechoslovak Greens also want to influence the national economy in such a way as to direct it toward an economy free from ecological errors.

Outlines Activity Program

AU2612080789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Dec 89 p 8

[Sid-signed report: "Green Party: We Will Be a Constant 'Annoyance'"]

[Text] Prague (By Our Reporter)—We want to be an unambiguously alternative party with a horizontal structure and the smallest possible political apparatus—a party which will be a constant "annoyance" and which will operate in opposition to the state structures. We will not agree to any compromises merely in order to acquire seats in the Parliament. Our principle is the uncompromising enforcement of the ecological way of thinking. This is how the main principles of the activities to be pursued by the Czechoslovak Green Party can be summed up, according to the briefing given by the representatives of the party's Preparatory Coordination Committee to journalists on Tuesday, 19 December.

As to the direction of these activities, the party wants to devote itself to so-called small and large environmental issues. On the basis of suggestions from the citizens, it particularly wants to help protect and establish the local environment. However, at the same time it will participate in the ecological assessment of large investment projects.

Christian Democratic Party Aims Discussed

LD1312004589 Prague CTK in English 1845 GMT 12 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 12 (CTK)—"The aim of the Christian Democratic Party is to create political forces relying on citizens who understand social development as a result of the free will of the people and not only as a reflection of material relations", member of the press and propagation group of the newly emerging Christian Democratic Party Dr Frantisek P. Novotny told CTK here today.

Not only active Christians but all persons who are aware of the loss of spiritual dimension in the present world and who strive to find it are the allies of Christian Democracy, he said.

The Christian Democratic Party wants to strive especially for a democratic and effective civil control of all parts of the state system, establishment of new legislative bodies on the basis of free elections, creation of natural self-administrative bodies both in the civil and economic spheres, independent trade unions and development and legal ensurance of private initiative, he said.

Party Set Up

AU2912122389 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 27 Dec 89 p 1

["hes"-signed report: "In the Spirit of Ecumenism and Humanity"]

[Excerpts] More than 500 people of different ages attended the constituent congress of the Christian Democratic Party in the Narodni Dum in Prague-Smichov yesterday afternoon. Members of the preparatory committee—Doctor Z. Susa, Engineer J. Jelinek, Engineer J. Cuhra, M. Primas, Engineer M. Tyl, P. Burian, M. Freiova, and Doctor V. Benda, who chaired the session—took their seats in the presidium.

At the outset V. Benda explained the attitude of this newly established party toward the Civic Forum. He stressed that, before the party's founding, members of the preparatory committee were among the founders of that structure. For the time being, until sufficient scope is created for the free activity of parties, they intend to remain part of the Civic Forum because this structure guarantees the elimination of the totalitarian system which operated in our society for more than 40 years.

Doctor V. Benda also tried to explain the attitude of the Christian Democratic Party toward the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL]. He read a letter of greetings that had been sent to the constituent congress by CSL representatives—CSL Chairman Brother J. Bartoncik, Deputy Chairmen Brothers B. Svoboda and F. Reichel, and Central Secretary Brother R. Sacher. He called on the assembly to approve a kind and friendly reply to the CSL leadership. He said that members of the preparatory

committee had carefully considered whether the emergence of the new party would not split the political forces of Christian-minded people and arrived at the conclusion that this would not be the case. The party had from the very beginning been conceived as a consistently nonsocialist and non-confessional party. V. Benda expressed the hope that in the future there would be convergence between the party and the CSL.

Following the presentation of the Christian Democratic Party's program statement, which states that the party is open to all Christians as well as to people who regard the Christian ethics as the main point of departure for life in our society, the debate started. [passage omitted]

After the debate, the program statement was approved. It will remain valid until the party conference, which is to be held by March 1990. An 11-member Executive Committee was then elected by secret ballot. It is composed of V. Benda, P. Burian, J. Cuhra, M. Freiova, M. Holecek, J. Jelinek, M. Tyl, J. Litomysky, T. Kvetak, H. Kratky, and Z. Susa. [passage omitted]

Leadership Announced

AU0901213190 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 5 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report from the "By Telex, Mail, and Telephone" column]

[Text] The Christian Democratic Party Executive Committee has confirmed Dr Vaclav Benda in the post of chairman. It elected two deputy chairmen—Engineer Tomas Kopriva from Olomouc and Dr Zdenek Susa M.D. from Stredokluky.

New Party's Declaration of Intent Reported

AU2012114789

[Editorial Report] Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 12 December on page 3 publishes 700-word "excerpts" from the "Declaration of Intent [programove vyhlasenie] of the Party of Democratic Socialism." The declaration first states that the party's aim is a "modern sovereign state" respecting the will of the people as expressed in "free elections." It then says that the party favors a multiparty system and pluralism in all spheres of social life and that it supports the following demands: the "depolitization" of the Army, the security forces, and the state administration; the guaranteeing of the independence of courts; a ban on the setting up of any "armed components" by political parties; respect for the independence of trade unions and their right to strike; and the guaranteeing of "democratic freedoms" such as freedom of movement, right of speech, freedom of assembly and association, religious freedom, and the right to petition and to choose one's profession.

The statement goes on to say that the party identifies not only with socialist values but with all "progressive and positive" values in the history of the Slovak nation and Czechoslovakia and to sketch the party's ideas on the "democratic setup" of the Czechoslovak Federation, the development of the economy, social policy issues, and the development of culture, the arts, and science. In conclusion the declaration states that the party is open to all "advocates of democratic socialism in Slovakia" regardless of social, ethnic, or religious affiliation and that it wants to express the interests and needs of all groups of the population. The declaration of intent appeals to everyone who approves of its ideas to set up local organizations of the party and report their founding to the party's "coordinating group" in Bratislava.

Coordinator Interviewed

AU1912100289 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Dec 89

[Report on interview with Igor Cibula, coordinator of the Party for Democratic Socialism leadership, by Peter Misur; date and place not given: "A Return to the Socialist Ideal"]

[Text] The Party for Democratic Socialism [SDS], which in its policy statement unequivocally professes the construction of a socialist and democratic state, officially presented itself to the public at its first news conference held last week. Apart from the Communist Party, the SDS is the only political party in Slovakia—so far—which purposefully wants to develop the concept of the socialist ideal. With the aim of more precisely qualifying the SDS's position in relation to the other political groups as well as its place in the current situation in general, Peter Misur, our editor, interviewed Igor Cibula, coordinator of the SDS leadership.

[Misur] Your party has acknowledged "Dubcek's strategy of socialism with a human face." However, more than 20 years have passed since that time and our society has somewhat changed. Do you accept this comprehensive shift?

[Cibula] Under the conditions of 1968, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] convinced our people that it was striving for the development of socialism. However, it became apparent in the subsequent period that it would not manage to respond to the topical issues being set for it by social development. Because it tarried in positions which corresponded to the CPCZ leadership's opinions prior to January 1968, it maintained existing problems and, at the same time, limited social activity and the people's will to participate in resolving social problems.

The SDS is not banking on specific conjectures from the 1968 CPCZ Program of Action, since this has been overtaken by development, but it proceeds from the premise that the renewal of socialism means a return to the socialist ideal which embraces the humanistic values of European civilization, the ideals of social justice, global moral principles, and, first and foremost, the idea of man's freedom, the freedom of an individual in society.

[Misur] Where do you see differences, as far as these aims are concerned, between the SDS's efforts and those of the Communist Party?

[Cibula] Until now, the CPCZ has highlighted the principle of collectivism, that is, it has emphasized that the collective interest—a group of people at any level—is a substitute for individual interest. It overlooked the diversity of human ideas about happiness and social equality and ideas about how an individual can contribute to public and social well-being.

[Misur] Are you talking about a communist party that has a leading role in society or about a party that started to renew itself after the loss of its position, that is, after 17 November?

[Cibula] While we can judge the Communist Party according to the results of its policies to date, we cannot judge its intentions, whether they were well meant or not. We do not doubt the moral principles of individual Communists, but we have no trust in the CPCZ as an organized political force.

[Misur] Could it be said, then, that the Civic Forum and the Public Against Violence movements are closer to you?

[Cibula] Despite the diverse opinions and streams in these civic initiatives, their ideas are closer to our's on how to achieve a democratic society founded on pluralist principles. They are closer to our ideas than the ideas of leading CPCZ functionaries who, to date, have not yet come to terms with the fact that the CPCZ not only legally, but de facto has lost its leading role in society.

[Misur] The roots of your program have grown out of 1968. Does this mean that your membership has to be personally involved in this year?

[Cibula] For us the issue does not at all only involve Communists who in 1968-69 adopted points of view for which they were later stripped of CPCZ membership. Although our initiative arose out of the ranks of former CPCZ members, we are pleased that right at the beginning, among the initiators, were young people without party affiliation as well as Communists who recently decided to return their party cards because the SDS meets more with their ideas on how to establish democratic socialism in our country.

[Misur] Your stance is also close to the aims of social democracy....

[Cibula] The Party for Democratic Socialism will maintain contacts with all socialist-oriented democratic forces at home and abroad. We will strive for cooperation with the Socialist International which affiliates socialist and social democratic parties throughout the world. However, it is impossible to reply to this unequivocally and categorically now, because the answer to this and other questions will be given by the delegates at our constituent congress which will approve the SDS program.

Session Communique

LD0701173190 Prague CTK in English 1636 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Unattributed CTK Report—"Communique From Session of Party of Democratic Socialism"]

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 7 (CTK)—The leadership of the Party of "Democratic Socialism today welcomed an agreement on measures ensuring the running of the state mechanism and the development of representative democracy, and stressed that the prepared changes of the electoral system should not prevent new parties from participating in the elections to legislative bodies.

At a session here today, the party leadership dealt with topical political questions, paying special attention to the results of the round table talks of leading political forces in Czechoslovakia in Prague on January 5.

Republican Party Issues Statement 30 Dec

AU0901060790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed report from the "By Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] The Preparatory Committee of the Republican Party [Republikanska Strana] adopted on Saturday [30 December] a programmatic document as well as provisional organizational principles which will remain valid until a nationwide congress is convened. The party's main concerns are maximum respect for the rights of the individual and dedication to the Constitution.

Hlavko Outlines Free Peasants Party Program

LD1412192389 Prague CTK in English 1354 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Prague, Dec 14 (CTK)—"It is necessary to create conditions for transition to market economy. We will support all forms of enterprise, i.e. both private and joint, but on different bases. We have an idea of setting up joint-stock companies of, for example, the processing enterprises", Ladislav Hlavko, chairman of the preparatory committee of the newly established Free Peasants' Party, told CTK about the party's program intentions.

Joint-stock companies or lease contracts should also be applied in state farms. This process will not be immediate, but gradual, of course, Ladislav Hlavko said.

The introduction of market economy envisages gradual removal of the monopoly of mammoth agricultural cooperatives. The present concept of agriculture is intolerable. It can work only on the basis of immense allocations from the state budget. "We will strive for the establishment of smaller cooperative. Private or joint-stock companies", Ladislav Hlavko said, adding that if farmers want to associate them only on the basis of voluntariness. [as received]

People's Party Official Outlines Program

LD1112154389 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Speech by People's Party First Deputy Chairman Dr Bohumil Svoboda on the "Live Words" program—live]

[Excerpts] The time which all of us are currently going through is probably the time of the biggest changes in the last 40 years, with the exception of a short period in 1968. [passage omitted]

New political parties are being formed. The parties which in the past were slowly losing a vote of confidence have begun to race each other to regain confidence. Almost every day somebody puts forward a new program and believes that it is his own program which is best for our entire society.

The time we are going through now is also a time of disclosing and sharpening characters. Faults great and small are emerging. We had long since forgotten them, and now others are beginning to remind us of them. This is the time when all of us can gain a lot- - but also lose everything. This is the time of courage, taking risks, and trust—the time of worries and fears that what is to come about will be delayed, postponed, or after all will not come about at all. [passage omitted]

Our People's Party, with its renewal trend which victoriously asserted itself 2 weeks ago, has prepared itself well to defend this time of love also for our future. We begin to turn to believers, above all to believers; we want to defend their interests. We know that there are among us dozens of priests of different denominations who were prevented from carrying out their mission and vocation to lead the others on the path of faith, love, and truth. We will put all our strength behind the effort that they are finally given opportunity to help in the process of spiritual revival of all our people. [passage omitted] All our young people deserve that we do not disappoint their trust—they now trust that we, the middle and older generation, will take their struggle to a successful end. We certainly want to take it to a successful end. Above all our party—the Christian Party—has in this sense the biggest moral obligation because we are obliged by our faith to think about the future. What matters to us has never been only social progress but also the spiritual and moral revival of our society—the revival which is the only one which can be a reliable guarantee that all the achieved results will be lasting.

"In a Christian, democratic, and patriotic way"—this is the slogan which very briefly but exactly sums up our program. We want to offer an opportunity to everybody to have their say on matters that are vital to them, we want to enable them not to be ever again afraid to express their views, their ideas. [passage omitted]

Liberal Democratic Party Platform Outlined

LD0901203990 Prague CTK in English 1527 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 9 (CTK)—The aim of the Liberal-Democratic Party which was constituted in Slovakia today is to enable social assertion to citizens with liberal thinking, coordinator of the new party Miroslav Janek said at a press conference here today.

The party is a Slovak party of the Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative which asked for its registration on November 11, 1989.

Miroslav Janek said that the Liberal-Democratic Party is open both for believers and citizens without religious belief, for all who want to restore classical ideas of liberalism and humanism in Slovakia in the new conditions. The party supports the values of modern Western prospering communities and the sovereignty of the Slovak nation within the idea of Czechoslovak statehood.

Miroslav Janek said that the party is for ridding social life of overemphasized ideology, for freedom of thinking and movement, and will fight for civic rights, against dogmatism, dictatorial tendencies and attempts of groups which would want to dominate others.

At present, the Liberal Democratic Party in Slovakia has about 600 members both from the ranks of the intelligentsia and of workers. Due to a broad spectrum of interests it will work on the principle of interest sections. The party wants to cooperate with liberally orientated political parites in Czechoslovakia as well as in Hungary, Poland, the FRG, Austria, Sweden and other countries.

Democratic Party Official Interviewed at Congress

LD1112184989 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 10 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] An extraordinary congress of the Slovak Revival Party was held in Bratislava today. In fact, this title is a matter of the past today, because at the session, held in the Trade Unions House, delegates resurrected the Democratic Party, which ended its activity in 1948. The session is still continuing, but Ladislav Balko has invited Jozef Simuth, one of the front ranking officials of the Democratic Party, to the microphone:

[Begin recording] [Balko] It could be said that you are the only party in Slovakia presenting a specific program. Can you describe it briefly for our listeners, because at issue is a sizeable document which is not at all posible to describe in a dispatch of this kind.

[Simuth] The Democratic Party presents itself as a political organization functioning throughout Czechoslovakia, with its center in the Slovak regions. It is a part of the democratic-political system of the republic, and

builds its policy unequivocaly on parliamentary democracy and people's-type democracy. I stress that at issue is the draft program, which will be—also on the basis of today's session—added to in the discussions and forums, along with the flow and development of the democratic life at all levels in our state. We stand for a modern type of a party in society, which must act as a political party of service, and not of political power.

[Balko] Free elections here in Czechoslovakia are not far off. How do you, as one of the parties which will participate in these elections, imagine these free elections should look like? I am asking this also because you are one of the deputy premiers of the Federal Assembly.

[Simuth] I consider this fact to be of decisive importance, not only for the Democratic Party, but also for each party, and I say frankly that the objective of the drafting of a democratic election law is considered by us to be decisive, regardless of how we'll fare in the elections, because this is the condition for the creation in our country of lasting conditions for democratic and free life.

[Balko] I would like to ask you the following on behalf of listeners. The point is, I already encountered the view—as a journalist I was asked: A new federal government has been formed. In it are the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Socialist Party, and People's Party members, but the noncommunist parties from Slovakia are not in this federal government. What is your view? It should bne (?known).

[Simuth] This is a certain political conservative situation which developed after 1948 for all the political parties in Slovakia, with the exception of the Communist Party, which had, in effect, taken up all positions as a political representaive of Slovakia in the federal government. This phenomenon has lasted until this day. We are aiming our efforts at participation in the federal government, but until now our efforts were focused at the candidates and members who will be able to hold their ground in the qualification, competence and political aspects. We will continue to negotiate and seek solutions about our participation, and above all about coresponsibility for the economic and political development in our country according to what candidates and with what degree of ability we will have for this. [end recording]

New 'Liberal' Party Issues 'Declaration of Ideas'

AU0901061590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report from the "Briefly From Home" column: "Party of Free Democrats"]

[Text] The Preparatory Committee of the Czechoslovak Party of Free Democrats [Ceskoslovenska strana slobodnych demokratov] has issued recently the party's founding document, the Declaration of Ideas [ideova deklaracia]. It states, among other things, that the party is an independent and autonomous political party. The purpose of its activity is to contribute to our Republic regaining its front-ranking position in the world competition of nations. The party regards as the ideological foundation of its activity the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the follow-up international documents. The Czechoslovak Party of Free Democrats fully identifies with the world movement of liberal political parties. Those interested in the principles of this new party, whose nationwide congress is planned for the spring of next year, can apply for membership at the following address: Engineer Miroslav Grundmann, 10 Uzavrena Street, 182 00 Prague-8 or by telephone at No. 84-03-79.

All-People Democratic Party Formed

LD0901231390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] The focal point of the All-People Democratic Party [Vselidova Demokraticka Strana], which is being set up and which is the party of entrepreneurs and tradesmen, is all-round support and assistance to the developing private sector. The party will set up a legal advice bureau for small entrepreneurs, as well as managers' training centers, and it will be publishing its own magazine. The congress of the All-People Democratic Party will take place in Prague on 17 February.

Party of Independent Democrats Founded

AU1001124190 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 6 Jan 90 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report: "Party of Independent Democrats"]

[Text] Bratislava— A new political party—the Party of Independent Democrats [Strana nezavislych demokratov] (SND)—has registered with the Central Committee of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front. The party was founded in response to the political situation, in which the monopoly of one party is being replaced by another monopoly of power, one dictatorship by another. The party's program principles state, inter alia: The SND is a political party representing the so-called centrist movement. We are opposed to right-wing and left-wing tendencies and to any form of monopoly of power. We shall defend the interests of all strata of the population—workers, farmers, the intelligentsia, pensioners, students, and so forth. We are against the privileged position of a certain section of society, against its domination over others. We will seek cooperation with everyone. Our ideology is based exclusively on latest scientific knowledge. We do not recognize dogmatic ideologies, ideologies for which there exists no objective scientific proof.

More detailed information will be provided by the SND Coordinating Committee, SD [expansion unknown] Druzhba II./205, 842 14 Bratislava (Milan Kajan).

Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality Formed

LD0801221390 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] The newly founded Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality wants to follow the aims of permanent neutrality, it says in its statement, which notes that it will concentrate on promoting internal democracy on the basis of the experience of Switzerland, Sweden, and Austria. Members of the Party of Czechoslovak Neutrality also want to keep the Army to the minimum necessary strength.

Gypsies Found Party in Slovakia

AU2112193289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Dec 89 p 2

[Unattributed CTK report in the "Per Teletype, Mail, Telephone..." column]

[Text] A Central Coordination Committee of the Party for the Integration of Romanies in Slovakia has been founded in Brekov in the Humenne District. More than 5,000 citizens have to date identified with the action program of the newly founded party which wants to improve the living and cultural standards of the Romanies in Slovakia.

'Several Thousand' Demonstrate in Halle

LD0901201490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1915 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Halle (ADN)—Several thousand participants in a rally today in Halle marketplace demanded the unhindered development of a private economy in the GDR for small and medium-sized enterprises. Their protest was directed against the hesitant policy of the government and the roundtable, which has to date hardly dealt with the real needs of this branch of the economy. Should this state of affairs persist, then a 1-day strike will be called for 23 January. [passage omitted]

15,000 Demonstrate at Karl-Marx-Stadt House

LD1001214690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2058 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—About 15,000 citizens from Limbach-Oberfrohna and the surrounding area (Karl-Marx-Stadt bezirk [area]) demonstrated in front of the guest house of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Area Executive this evening.

The opposition parties, among other things, articulated the citizens' demand that this industrialist's villa, expropriated after the war, should finally become public property.

Halle Area Council Chairman Arrested on Fraud

LD1001200490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1845 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Halle (ADN)—On 9 January proceedings were instigated against Alfred Kolodniak, chairman of the Halle Area Council, for serious fraudulant conversion to the disadvantage of socialist property and breach of trust. This was reported to ADN today by Dr. Siegfried Fichtler, deputy state prosecutor of Halle Area.

The council chairman is strongly suspected of having made decisions, in violation of his legal duty, resulting in personal advantage and causing economic harm. The Halle City District Court issued and executed an arrest warrant against him, against which he has appealed.

Construction Workers Strike in Berlin

LD1101113590 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Today around 300 Berlin construction workers marched, during a 1-hour warning strike, to the People's Chamber building. They demanded, among other things, abolition of the bridging money for employees of the former Office for National Security, as well as its immediate dissolution.

Reportage on 14th Session of People's Chamber

Session Opens

LD1101084290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0800 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber has convened in Berlin today for its 14th session. The agenda of the 2 days of debates contains 20 items.

A government statement from Premier Modrow is expected, which is due to be debated in the session.

The deputies are to debate and decide on several bills. Reports from GDR parliamentary commissions and committees, mandate changes and changes in the State Council and Council of Ministers are also expected.

Schabowski, Kessler Lose Mandate

LD1101083890 Hamburg DPA in German 0826 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—A series of former members of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Politburo have now also lost their mandates in the GDR People's Chamber. These include the temporary state and party leader, Egon Krenz, his close associate Guenter Schabowski, and former Defense Minister Heinz Kessler. People's Chamber president Guenther Maleuda announced this at the beginning of the session today.

Agenda Given

LD1101091790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0821 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A comprehensive agenda, which was confirmed at the beginning of the session by the deputies, has been set before the GDR People's Chamber for its 14th session.

The details are as follows:

1. Mandate changes;
2. Changes in the State Council;
3. Government statement: Dr. Hans Modrow;
4. Changes in the Council of Ministers;
5. Election of Prosecutor-General;
6. Passing of law on changing and supplementing the Constitution;
7. Second reading of travel law;
8. Law on conformity of legal regulations to travel law;
9. First reading of law on civilian service;
10. Law on changes to the law on the promotion of crafts;
11. Law on change to law on air travel;

12. First reading of law on change to state citizenship;

13. Decision of People's Chamber on duration of election period;

14. Decision of People's Chamber on formation and composition of commissions;

15. Changes in temporary commissions;

16. Report of commission on changing and supplementing the Constitution;

17. Report of commission on working out of electoral law;

18. Statements of interior minister and president of Supreme Court on questions at the 13th People's Chamber session;

19. Information from the interior minister on the amnesty;

20. Statement on China.

Modrow Warns of 'Extremism'

LD1101092690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0840 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow, addressing the People's Chamber on Thursday, has appealed to all the democratic forces of the country to counter the early signs of extremism. In his government statement he referred to the latest acts of violence and campaigns by neo-Nazis and those who would become them in several cities of the GDR. The daubings at the Soviet memorial in Berlin-Treptow were just one symptom.

Modrow proposed to turn the Workers and Peasants Inspection (ABI) into a Committee for People's Control which, to begin with, should concentrate its work on the disbandment of the Office for National Security.

Modrow Seeks Proposals on Kohl

LD1101094190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0850 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow today called on all participants at the roundtable, in his statement to the People's Chamber, to put forward suggestions on the content of his forthcoming meeting with FRG Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and on the continued cooperation in the CEMA. He also appealed to them to take part in the civilian control of the disbandment of the Office for National Security and to submit proposals for a parties and electoral law.

Modrow suggested that all participants of the roundtable be involved directly in the government work through authorized public figures. Ultimatums from the roundtable will not help the work of his government. Hans Modrow affirmed that his government continues to be aware of its responsibility to the people of the GDR.

More on Modrow Statement

LD1101100190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0924 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The aim of achieving an export surplus in foreign trade in 1989 was not reached, GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow stated on Thursday to the People's Chamber. The lack of export achievements and necessary additional imports, on the contrary, led to an import surplus. The present government, Hans Modrow said, is not to blame for this complicated situation. It is a matter of realizing high exports and being more sparing with imports this year.

Foreign trade with the Soviet Union was described by the prime minister as necessary for the GDR's life. In order to secure the country's vital imports of energy sources, raw materials, and materials, the planned exports to the Soviet Union are a decisive task for all factories and combines.

The GDR wishes to achieve a new quality in CEMA cooperation. It views this as a contribution to a European peace order, to cross-system structures, and is directing its gaze to the formation of an all-European economic order.

Modrow: Economic Situation 'Tense'

LD1101095490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0910 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow described the country's economic situation to the People's Chamber as still tense on Thursday. The government has done everything possible to retain control of national economic developments. The cabinet's first measures had brought immediate results. The functioning of the economy and the supply of the population had been safeguarded in the 4th quarter of 1989.

In all, the produced national income [as received] for 1989 rose by somewhat more than two percent. However, the state budget showed a deficit of six to seven billion marks. Last year 250,000 working people left the GDR, production declined absolutely in the fourth quarter and the disproportions between final industry and supply industry increased.

Hans Modrow pointed out that support for the GDR from abroad is needed. But the use of all its own material and financial possibilities is decisive.

The prime minister affirmed that currency reform is not on the agenda. Social successes can only be achieved if the relevant preconditions for them are created in material production.

Modrow on Foreign Policy

LD1101103990 East berlin ADN International Service in German 0950 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR has proven itself reliable in its relations with East and West and predictable to its neighbors, GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow stated on Thursday to the People's Chamber. GDR developments have not damaged European stability.

Hans Modrow described the GDR's relations with the other Warsaw Pact member states as essentially unproblematic. Cooperation with the Soviet Union takes priority for his government. The GDR supports a democratization of the alliance relations in the Warsaw Pact and its transformation into a political alliance.

According to Prime Minister Modrow, the country is prepared to further reduce troops because such reductions would contribute to a further reduction in national defense expenditure. The GDR also supports a CSCE summit this year.

Hans Modrow said, one could say that in the meantime numerous agreements reached with the FRG have been implemented. In the face of the travel possibilities, an extraordinary intensification of relations between the GDR and the FRG and West Berlin has been achieved. Modrow stated in the name of the government that one is aware that the baselines of European and world politics are being touched by the GDR-FRG relationship. The GDR stands behind its peace policy and will do nothing which could shake European stability. Its attitude to the Oder-Neisse border is definitive. In Modrow's words, a unification of the GDR and the FRG is not on the agenda. The perspective was a question of the future and would have to be integrated into the all-European movement.

New Prosecutor General Elected

LD1101110490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1035 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber elected with 12 'no' votes and 31 abstentions, in Berlin on Thursday Dr Hans- Juergen Joseph (SED-PDS) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany - Party of Democratic Socialism] as new GDR prosecutor general. A relevant proposal was tabled by the Council of State. He succeeds Guenter Wendland (SED-PDS).

3 Elected to Council of Ministers

LD1101110190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1023 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber elected the following new members of the GDR Council of Ministers in Berlin on Thursday with three 'no' votes and six abstentions: Professor Dr Kurt Wuensche (LDPD) [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany], Dr Hans-Joachim Lauck (SED-PDS) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany - Party of Democratic Socialism], and Dr Peter Diederich (DBD) [Democratic Peasant Party].

Earlier, in response to an application, the current members of the Council of Ministers, Dr Wolfgang Schwanitz (SED-PDS—head of the Office for National Security), Dr Hans-Joachim Heusinger (LDPD—minister of justice), Dr Gerhard Schuerer (SED-PDS—chairman of the State Planning Commission), and Dr Hans Reichelt (DBD—minister for environmental protection and water management) were unanimously relieved of their posts.

More on Newly Appointed Ministers

LD1101143390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1309 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber elected on Thursday in Berlin, with three votes against and six abstensions Prof Dr Kurt Wuensche, (LDPD) [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany]; Dr Hans-Joachim Lauck, (SED-PDS) [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism]; and Dr Peter Diederich, (DBD) [Democratic Peasant Party]; as new members of the GDR Council of Ministers.

Prof Dr Kurt Wuensche was already named minister of justice on 5 January by the prime minister. A decision by the Council of Ministers foresees appointing Dr Hans-Joachim Lauck minister for mechanical engineering and Dr Peter Diederich minister for the protection of nature, environmental protection, and water management. The present minister for mechanical engineering, Prof Dr Karl Gruenheid, is due to become chairman of the economic Committee of the Council of Ministers, which is due to be formed in place of the State Planning Commission. [passage omitted]

New Travel Law Adopted

LD1101115490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1122 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber met for its 14th session in Berlin on Thursday morning. [passage omitted]

Lothar Arendt, minister of internal affairs, explained the draft travel law which was changed after discussion in committees and suggestions received from the population, and the bill for adjusting the legal stipulations to the travel law. A number of questions and proposals concerning the two bills were dealt with by Ministers Arendt and Uta Nickel.

The deputies of the People's Chamber adopted the travel law after the second reading, with one 'no' vote and three abstentions. It will come into force on 1 February. The law for adjusting the legal stipulations to the travel law was unanimously adopted.

Afterward, the parliament began its lunch recess.

Session Ends 1st Day

LD1101164190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1516 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The first day of the 14th session of the GDR People's Chamber closed in Berlin this afternoon. The second day will be devoted to debate on Prime Minister Hans Modrow's government statement and other matters.

New Chairman of SED-PDS Parliamentary Group

LD1101084690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0748 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—Dr Kaete Niederkirchner has been elected by the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany - Party for Democratic Socialism] People's Chamber parliamentary group as its new chairman. She takes over from Werner Jarowinski, who has led the parliamentary group since November 1989. [passage omitted]

Liberal Democrats Threaten To Leave Coalition

LD1101102590 Hamburg DPA in German 0811 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Report on interview with Liberal Democratic Party of Germany press spokesman by Deutschlandfunk on 11 January; place not given]

[Text] Cologne (DPA)—The GDR Liberal Democrats will leave the coalition with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] and the former block parties if the SED persists in setting up an Office for the Protection of the Constitution before the 6 May elections. The Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] press spokesman emphasized this today on Deutschlandfunk. Ideas of this kind can not be realized with his party, the LDPD representative said, according to the radio station.

The planned GDR electoral law is also bound up with the coalition question in the LDPD's view, according to its spokesman. The restrictions, contained in the draft law, on accepting aid from abroad, must be lifted for the 6 May elections. Otherwise, the new opposition parties will not have the same chances.

Gerlach Interviewed on FRG Television

LD1001232290 Hamburg DPA in German 2203 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—In the view of Manfred Gerlach, Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [LDPD] chairman, GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] will not demand a referendum at tomorrow's People's Chanmber session on his continued activity as prime minister. The acting GDR State Council Chairman Gerlach added on Second German Television (ZDF) that the suggestion that Modrow would ask for such a vote was "pure speculation". The intention of having a referendum had in fact been discussed by Modrow and the other government parties during the period when the situation at the roundtable was deteriorating.

Gerlach said he believed that there would be neither a new office for the protection of the Constitution nor a security service before the People's Chamber elections in the GDR on the 6 May. His party, therefore, supported the demand made at the roundtable that the government had to give clear information about the country's security situation and the progress made in the dissolution of the Office for National Security on Monday. "That information must be clear, for so far it has not been clear," said Gerlach. This, and "other matters" would determine whether his party would support the government until 6 May.

The LDPD chairman again underlined his party's intention not to continue its coalition with the SED-PDS [Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party for Democratic Socialism] after the elections. The LDPD is, however, open to coalitions with all other democratic parties, excluding right- and left-wing extremists. He himself would no longer be available for the office of party chief since a new policy must be effected with new people. Neither would he be available for a mandate in the People's Chamber and other state offices.

More on TV Interview

AU1101093790 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 11 Jan 90

["Excerpts" of interview with Manfred Gerlach, LDPD chairman and acting GDR State Council chairman, carried on FRG ZDF television channel on 10 January]

[Text] [Moderator Werner Loew] Premier Modrow is expected to make a statement in the GDR People's Chamber. Does he want a referendum about his government before the election at the beginning of May? Will his government persevere until then? In the background of these questions there are tensions about a new election law with the explicit ban on election aid from abroad—this is at least what the draft says—and the establishment of a new office for the protection of the Constitution as a successor to the infamous State Security Service, also before 6 May. These are not only issues to be addressed at the roundtable—that is, in the talks between the government and the opposition, but also within Hans Modrow's government coalition. Three of the four former Bloc parties have announced that they will withdraw from the East Berlin coalition. The possibility of a referendum is now being discussed as a possible countermeasure by the head of government.

In an interview yesterday with a colleague from Second German Television, ZDF, Manfred Gerlach, chief of the GDR liberals and State Council chairman, said that he does not think that the coalition will dissolve before May. His reasoning:

[Begin recording] [Gerlach] There will not be a new office for the protection of the Constitution before the elections but no security service. This is clear in view of today's situation and, therefore, we, as a party, support the demand made at the roundtable that next Monday [15 January] the government has to give precise information about the security situation and the state of dissolution of the National Security Office, and what has perhaps already been done to continue things in this connection or to build them anew. This information must be clear; as so far it has not been. We will make it dependent on this and other important matters whether or not we can support this government until election day.

[Unidentified interviewer] There is also quite a controversy about the new election law, which is to be presented at the roundtable on Monday. In November you said that this should be subject to a referendum. Do you still hold this view?

[Gerlach] We still hold this view, but we have not persuaded all our partners to adopt it. I want to say frankly that we have come to realize that because of the time constraints—and 6 May is very important for our country and our people—it is not possible to have an election law drawn up and implemented through a referendum, because this would require a lot of preparation. That means, we have to draw up an election law that is truly democratic and also takes into consideration all the demands of all parties involved—thus meeting with a broad consensus, I am very confident in this respect—and one that permits us to hold truly free and secret elections on 6 May. This date must be secured above all.

[Interviewer] Concerning this date you have also given a definite position. You said that there will be no coalition with the Socialist Unity Party of Germany after 6 May. If you stick to this, with whom would you like to form a coalition?

[Gerlach] Well, we are open to a coalition with all other democratic forces represented in the People's Chamber after the elections, except for ultrarightists and ultraleftists. As regards the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism, we have made very clear statements. Our position will be announced once more during the next few days when we publish the election program and also at our upcoming party congress, that the LDPD cannot cooperate with this party in a new coalition after the elections. [end recording]

[Moderator Loew] This was LDPD Chairman Manfred Gerlach, who says that rumors about Modrow asking for a vote of confidence from the people today are speculative.

Modrow Interviewed on Roundtable, Other Issues

AU0801090190 Vienna Television Service in German 1000 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Interview with GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow by ORF journalist Paul Schulmeister; Thomas Chorherr, chief editor of DIE PRESSE; and Karl-Heinz Ritschel, chief editor of SALZBURGER NACHRICHTEN; in East Berlin on 7 January—live]

[Text] [Schulmeister] Dr Modrow, we have to discuss a wide range of issues in about 1 hour. We may not succeed in broaching all the topics we want to discuss. There will probably not be enough time. However, some questions are very urgent. Let us start with a very topical issue: the roundtable, the forum for discussions that has been convening in the GDR during the past few weeks. One does not really know whether it is a body of advisers or a counterforce to the government. It seems to be some sort of hermaphrodite. A total of 16 opposition groups participate in the roundtable. Critical voices have been raised now, particularly during the past few days. The roundtable is being described as a fig leaf, a democratic fig leaf, because, as a matter of fact, no decisions are made at the roundtable. Specific points of criticism were brought forward against your government, claiming that the former members of the state security authority, the so-called Stasi, have not really been disarmed. On the contrary, they still have access to weapons, critical voices point out. A government spokesman made a statement to the contrary yesterday [6 January]. Then there was the point that caused much concern—so it seems to Austrian viewers—among the GDR population, namely the announcement that a new authority for the protection of the constitution is to be founded prior to free elections, scheduled for 6 May. Many citizens seem to be concerned about the fact that this might give former state security members the chance to resume their old jobs. There are also many other points. Is the roundtable in danger of collapsing?

[Modrow] I do not think that the roundtable will collapse because there is no reason for it to collapse. The government's activities are in no way designed to bring this about. Reports in this connection—in your media as well—are not always very objective. I would like to make this very clear. Yesterday I felt compelled to have published in NEUES DEUTSCHLAND the measures that the government has initiated and stipulated to support the roundtable. As a matter of fact, these stipulations have been accepted by the roundtable. I presented them to the roundtable.

However, in my own responsibility I also gave orders to inform government authorities as well that I had submitted such stipulations, such an offer on the government's behalf—I would like to include the coalition government here. Subsequently the matter was distorted by claims that it was not the roundtable that was informed but the government authorities. Basically, this is mere malice because the roundtable had the materials, and those who have to deal with the materials have been

instructed to do so. Thus, there is no danger for the roundtable from this viewpoint. I held talks with all groups, except for the New Forum, which rejected the invitation and which also expressed problems and reservations, which I have to respect—the New Forum is an independent democratic movement that decides what it is doing—and basically stated the following:

First, the government recognizes and highly respects what is going on at the roundtable in the form of consultations, recommendations, and proposals, and the government offers—in working groups that are set up by the roundtable—constructive cooperation and the presentation of information by ministers at the roundtable on the current state of the government's work, so that the work of the roundtable can be coordinated with it. My deputy, Minister Luft, attended the roundtable twice and provided comprehensive information there. The working group dealing with economic issues, which has been established by the roundtable, maintains a close working contact with the government. We have no problems here. The government discussed its working plan for the first half of 1990 on Thursday [4 January], and the roundtable will be informed about the basic tasks that the government will tackle. We will submit our proposal to the roundtable on Monday [8 January]. If there are suggestions on the roundtable's part, they can be incorporated without any problems, including legal initiatives that have to be presented by the People's Chamber in the first half of 1990. Thus, cooperation on our part is ensured here.

[Ritschel] Mr Prime Minister, let me ask you one thing. Is this roundtable a true form of codetermination? Or is it merely an informational instrument? Where does its competence lie? One must understand the opposition's concerns. It claims that there is a state apparatus on the one side that is full of turncoats—to use a frequently cited term—who used to serve a very doctrinarian power structure and must now continue their work. It is quite logical that a very large group is concerned about this.

[Modrow] This is logical and understandable. At the same time, they must see the procedure of how work is carried out at the roundtable and the need for the government's activities. Let us take the specific example of what the roundtable will be facing tomorrow. The electoral law will be discussed. It goes without saying that, on our part, all government experts will be present at the roundtable so that work concerning the electoral law can be tackled. Thus, the electoral will be the result of three bodies: of the roundtable with its working group that has been assigned this task; of the People's Chamber that will finally have to adopt this law, supported by the People' Chamber committees; and of the government's work. However, the government is not the decisive body here. What will be decisive are the stipulations that will at the end be made and submitted to the People's Chamber by the parties and groups at the roundtable concerning the electoral law. The government is an organ of the People's Chamber, and no decision by the government on this law which is of primary significance at the moment, will influence the roundtable.

[Schulmeister] We will discuss the electoral law in a minute. Let us first say a few more words about the institution of the roundtable. Mr Chorherr, you wanted to ask a question.

[Chorherr] Yes, I wanted to ask a question. Mr Prime Minister, you mentioned a number of issues: The roundtable on the one hand and the government on the other, the electoral law, elections, but also the program, working program of the government for the next 6 months. Well, the next 6 months last until the end of June, and elections are scheduled for 6 May. Mr Modrow, do you consider yourself to be the head of a caretaker government, as the Americans like to put it, of a transition government, and how do you see your position as a government after 6 May?

[Modrow] First, we proceed from the fact—we discussed this during a cabinet meeting last Thursday [4 January]—that no government can work on the basis of the principle that everything will end on 6 May, as it were. Every decision that is being made today is ultimately in many ways a decision for the future. If I attend a meeting of CEMA states in Sofia on Tuesday and Wednesday [9-10 January], the results of the work that has been concluded in October last year and which contains issues of scientific cooperation up to the year 2000 between these countries will be presented there. Every expert knows that things are being developed in research institutions today that may be used in production in 1994 or 1996, and other projects reaching beyond this date are being worked out. Thus, strategic questions always extend beyond 6 May. At the same time, there are many issues that have to be decided by 6 May. In this sense, you are right. This is one aspect, but there is also the other aspect. However, one cannot set a limit to one's feeling of responsibility, and one cannot launch an election campaign if one states from the outset that everything will end on 6 May. This is not the way I feel. I believe that in such a case one would presently not live up to one's responsibility to a degree that is required for such an activity.

[Schulmeister] Let me ask you a specific question. Will a new authority for the protection of the constitution be set up in the GDR before 6 May or not?

[Modrow] You asked the question from a certain viewpoint. I must tell you that there are numerous citizens who stress that stability must be ensured in our country, that what is important and decisive for the citizens must be ensured, that neo-Nazism must not be allowed to spread....

[Schulmeister] Does this danger exist?

[Modrow] This danger does exist. If you take into consideration the events that occurred in the GDR during the past few days and weeks, you see that the

danger does exist. There is definite evidence that individual groups exist. It cannot be overlooked that contact with such groups is also being sought from outside. Flyers from the Republicans in the FRG have been found here. There are signals and hints that groups belonging to this spectrum are trying to form. Thus, this problem...

[Schulmeister] However, this problem exists in all European countries, or at least in a large number of countries, even in the Soviet Union.

[Modrow] You are right. However, in all European countries there is also an office that guarantees security. You will probably agree that such an office also exists in Austria, that such an office exists in the FRG, that such an office exists in the United States. If these countries had no such offices, we could discuss this issue. However, I have the impression that in view of these problems the need for security also exists in your countries.

[Chorherr] Mr Prime Minister, one could say now that the danger of latent neo-Nazism, which may exist among small groups—we cannot verify that—is being deliberately played up in a propagandist way in order to justify the continued existence of a state security system, a secret police, et cetera.

[Modrow] No, we are far from that. We proceed from the fact that this is a phenomenon and that ensuring security is international practice, and I would say not only international practice but an international necessity. Yesterday, no, the day before yesterday, or was it yesterday evening—events are taking place so fast nowadays—the head of the group dealing with the dissolution of the former Office for National Security, who was appointed by the government, appeared on television and explained how the process of dissolution is taking place. The roundtable will also be briefed by Mr Koch on Monday [8 January] so that the roundtable can familiarize itself with these processes. It is no secret that 85,000 persons were active in this sphere...

[Schulmeister, interrupting] Stasi members...

[Modrow] ... who served in various spheres and were responsible for the most varied tasks. There are many things that are absolutely necessary: the whole coding and encoding system, for example, that a state needs. How does a state want to maintain relations with its embassies abroad if security is not guaranteed?

[Schulmeister] There is no doubt about that.

[Modrow] All this must be dissolved now and established somewhere else. There is no doubt that there is a need in the GDR, as in all other countries in the world, to have both a service that receives information from abroad and a service for activities to ensure the country's security, even in peacetime when peaceful concepts are involved. It is necessary that other issues are ensured as well, particularly in the citizens' interest. Just think of the example that has been shown on GDR television. I would like to mention what happened at the Treptow Monument. The former security organs possess a file on which one should work. Even if the criminal police are now carrying out investigations, they need information from the file in order to find those who have committed the crimes. This has meanwhile become necessary. We need a concept here. The other thing is: The roundtable has recommended closing this office. The government complies with this recommendation. At the same time it needs a concept as to how it can satisfy certain security needs, as is common practice internationally. Basically, this is the situation we are now facing.

[Chorherr] Mr Prime Minister, do you consider it conceivable—in view of elections scheduled for 6 May—that your democratic chances in the elections might be reduced as a result of what is taking place at the roundtable and besides the roundtable concerning the Stasi issue, to sum things up?

[Modrow] I must tell you that this is conceivable. At the same time I proceed from the assumption that I cannot get rid of the responsibility that I have assumed. This responsibility includes ensuring a certain security need for a majority of the population.

[Schulmeister] Do you expect new calls for demonstrations by opposition groups—there have already been individual calls—to protest against the continued existence of a security system that you have just described?

[Modrow] I proceed from the assumption that we should continue to try to arrive at a consensus. The debate will focus on this issue during the next few days and weeks.

[Ritschel] How do you assess the chances of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany-Party of Democratic Socialism [SED-PDS] during the upcoming elections? According to various opinion polls, the SED-PDS will certainly not receive more than 25 percent.

[Modrow] I would like to tell you one thing: You just heard that 16 opposition groups will participate in the elections. Taking this fact into consideration, 25 percent is not a bad result.

[Ritschel] In the past you stated—I think it was you—that the party might also become a junior partner in a new government, or do you hope to be able to form another cabinet?

[Modrow] I would say that everybody who is currently making binding statements on election results is either behaving like a wise man or somebody who is only groping in the dark. It will remain to be seen how the elections and the voters' attitude will develop in the next few weeks and months.

[Schulmeister] What will the election campaign in the GDR be like? This is the first election campaign in decades. Criticism has been voiced recently, not only by opposition groups, but also recently in Bonn, where even the Social Democratic Party of Germany has accused the GDR leadership of not granting the opposition access to

the media, the papers, and television on the basis of equal rights. What will the election campaign be like in the coming months?

[Modrow] First of all, one question must be tackled. You stated that we should say a few more words about the electoral law.

[Schulmeister] Yes.

[Modrow] It is necessary to draft an electoral law. It is necessary to draft a law on associations and parties, because this has, of course, an influence on elections, as you know. If the basic preconditions are not created by the legislation, it is difficult to make predictions as to what the election campaign will be like. Will it be an election campaign that is linked with the party principle in the electoral law? Will there be a mixed form? Will persons be allowed to stand as candidates?

[Schulmeister] What do you advocate?

[Modrow] If you ask me as somebody who is also responsible for a party, our idea was to prefer a mixed form.

[Schulmeister] Does this mean ticket election and voting for individual candidates?

[Modrow] Yes, exactly. This is our view, as it were. Whether this will be realized in this way at the roundtable [Modrow changes thought] As a next step questions concerning the chances arise. Who sees chances for himself in what form? Who can achieve more as an individual candidate or as a party?

[Chorherr] Will the opposition groups be given the opportunity of expressing themselves, particularly on television?

[Modrow] Well, I can certainly not proceed from the assumption that you watch GDR television because this is not possible in your country. However, let me mention that the day before yesterday [5 January] the GDR television—the first FRG television network largely aired our program—showed a debate between SED-PDS Chairman Gysi and spokesman Mr Reiche. On Thursday, between the holidays, a roundtable discussion took place. Four representatives of the opposition groups, as they are called today, were given over 1 hour. It is not true that they have no access to the television.

[Schulmeister] The question is whether they are granted access on the basis of equal rights.

[Modrow] Concerning the question of equal rights: Who applies the yardstick at the moment? The established parties recently confronted the (word indistinct) with the serious reproach that they do not get any attention. My party chairman states that we do not get much attention either. Thus, the quarrels continue. Once the electoral law is adopted, the GDR television will offer everything for the election campaign that is common practice in your country. There is the opportunity for television spots, and other opportunities. Every party will be given the same opportunity.

[Schulmeister] Mr Prime Minister, 3 months have elapsed since the introduction of the changes in the GDR, and there are still 4 months to go until elections on 6 May. This means that quite a lot of time has already passed. According to information I received, many opposition groups here have repeatedly complained that they have no suitable rooms, no telex machines, telephones, and copying machines, et cetera, to this very day. Will this change?

[Modrow] Let me state the following: This complaint is a special complaint. I hope that the gentlemen of the roundtable will quickly show cooperation on this issue. The SED-PDS will clear a building opposite the Grand Hotel. This is a very good location in the city center. The other parties and groups of the roundtable will use this building. The whole problem starts with very simple questions. There are also problems concerning impediments. There are a number of papers, documents, and protocols that have to be transferred to another place, to the party executive's current headquarters. If the other groups and parties quickly help to pack up things and to transport them where they belong—the place where they are needed for further activities—this can be carried out and settled next week. There is even solidarity among parties at the roundtable that the required space must be created. The government supports this from its viewpoint by ensuring this.

[Ritschel] Will the state provide money for the opposition groups to make it possible for the opposition parties to launch an election campaign?

[Modrow] The state has already provided money, if you want, by financing time off for groups, for members, who are directly involved in these activities. The state has provided cars and there is the opportunity to receive loans.

[Chorherr] Mr Prime Minister, I may be wrong, but I believe that your words, or rather your tone, suggest a certain unease, impatience, and dissatisfaction with the current situation. Earlier you mentioned the chairman of your party. This leads to my next, very direct question. You are a Communist, Mr Prime Minister. How do you see the current situation in the GDR as a Communist, and how do you see the situation in the near future?

[Modrow] In my view the situation is characterized by a democratic departure in our country which is linked with the need for new thinking by everybody. This applies both to those who have gathered at the roundtable and all those who will decide for whom they will vote in elections. We must not pretend that this is a process that only concerns the roundtable. This is a process that moves all the people and in which all the GDR's people, in which all citizens are involved. Taking this into consideration, I presume from the assumption that we need a phase during which all are interested in renewal.

As a matter of fact, all the roundtable's participants, both the established groups and those who have been newly accepted are interested in renewal. The roundtable works in this way, and your concern that you believe to hear in my words is to be defined exactly at this point. There is no concern regarding democratic departure and the current developments, a democratic restructuring involving far-reaching changes in the GDR. There is concern about the short period that is at our disposal, a period during which a great deal must be accomplished. This requires both advice that the government is quite willing to accept, through the roundtable's many working groups, and good judgment concerning constructiveness that is needed to implement things at the required pace. This is the problem. There are expectations among the population regarding progress and results, and these must eventually be worked out and supported once a consensus has been achieved.

[Ritschel] Do you want to repair your socialism or bring about a change of the system?

[Modrow] In any case, it is not possible to repair socialism in the way it has so far been practiced in various states. As you see, the Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that perestroyka is basically a revolutionizing process within socialism. In the same way, developments in the GDR can only take place in the form of a very far-reaching and fundamental process, and not as a repair of socialism. This was also stated in the government statement...

[Ritschel, interrupting] May I ask you a question in this connection? The view was often expressed that this was Stalinism. This is an excuse, a very convenient excuse, because Trotsky already predicted that Leninism would lead to what Stalinism brought the world. Thus, one should or must assume that this system has failed.

[Modrow] As far as the basic concepts and guidelines are concerned, this system has turned out to be incapable of achieving what was our deepest humanist concern. I state this on the basis of the assumption that everybody has to formulate the goal and the principle on which his life is based, and that the responsibility toward the citizens must, of course, always be directed toward a social component, toward the liberal development of the citizens' personality, and the rule of law that must be ensured. All this, in the spirit and in complete agreement with the international processes which have been initiated with the CSCE process—numerous talks have taken place in Vienna and numerous decisions have been made there—also serves as a basis and a concept for what we have to accomplish in our country.

[Schulmeister] Mr Prime Minister, what is left of socialism if the foundations of the old system have turned out to be irreparable? What is left of socialism? Is it a profession of humanism, of social justice? These elements are to be found in all parties.

[Chorherr] May I ask an additional question? Mr Prime Minister, the system that apparently did not work, as you pointed out, the system which was a great disappointment—I would like to put it as simply as that—is this system a Marxist-Leninist system, a Stalinist, or a communist system, or is it socialism? I think it is very important to provide a definition at this point.

[Modrow] You cannot expect us today to be able to provide theoretical definitions, given the current state of findings. We will have to continue to work out theoretical definitions because if you look at this process of democratic renewal that is taking place in the countries, not even months, but only weeks have elapsed. What has become clear is—and this is the basis for the work of my government, which is a coalition government, in my view, which works on the basis of a government statement that has been jointly drafted and jointly adopted [sentence incomplete as heard]. It is also based on theoretical principles because it became clear that in the past many considerations were also made—at the Humboldt University among economic scientists or by Mrs Luft, who is now responsible for the economy—that demonstrated that we have to carry out fundamental changes in our economic system, which is one of the basic issues of a social system, which must first consist of making considerations concerning the people's property. How should it be shaped? How can it be handled in practice? Is it a state-administered property? Will it be possible—we proceed from this assumption—for people to buy stock, which means that people would be able to participate in the broad property of the people, which we, however, would see as a form of socialist property?

[Ritschel] In your government statement on the economy, you stated that central administration must be reduced to a sensible degree. What do you understand by a sensible degree? What you are developing in connection with people's shares, does this lead to a social market economy? Do you consider this a possible goal?

[Modrow] Yes, there is no doubt that such elements will be incorporated. As far as the question about a sensible degree is concerned, I would like to state that a sensible degree is both linked with principles and methods that play a role. Principles mean that it is necessary to introduce a much greater extent of independence in combines and enterprises in order to create the opportunity to carry out more direct trade with Western markets. We also decided to link foreign trade enterprises that used to be belong to the Foreign Trade Ministry with the combines so that, in this way, too, the combines can shape their economic relations in a direct and immediate manner.

This is also important—you must not overlook this—in cooperation between the socialist states or the CEMA countries, because economic reforms are under way in all CEMA countries, which also increase the enterprises' and combines' independence. We use different terms here but there are similarities concerning the structure and the contents. We need the same new mobility for our foreign trade with the CEMA states, as a matter of fact, which accounts for two-thirds of our trade. This must

not be forgotten. At the same time we will have to continue to plan certain targets—profits or large state orders, for example. If we receive 17 million tonnes of mineral oil from the Soviet Union, it is necessary to ensure counter supplies via state orders. This is necessary. The state agrees to the supply of 17 million tonnes of mineral oil in the agreement, which means that it must ensure the material basis with its economic concept.

[Ritschel] This is one aspect. However, a free democracy involves private ownership by all means, the possibility that man can create primarily for himself what he achieves through his work.

[Modrow] Of course, this is necessary. For the time being, as a result of past developments, we have a considerable portion of cooperative property. Our country's agriculture is essentially characterized by cooperatives, we have cooperative ownership in the sphere of trade, we have private trade, and we also made other decisions. This is another sphere where we have problems with the roundtable because the roundtable's working groups discuss issues concerning legislation for the development of private initiatives, and groups appointed by the government discuss questions regarding the drafting of laws making it possible for the GDR to participate in the international division of labor in a new and completely different way. This is also contained in my government statement. A proposal will be submitted to the next session of the People's Chamber, which suggests an amendment to the current Constitution that should provide for the establishment of joint ventures, limited liability companies, and other possibilities. Thus, we want to pursue and seek a way that makes private participation possible and that allows the development of private initiatives in the GDR, without calling into question the existing large combines.

[Schulmeister] Dr Modrow, there seems to be some sort of internal contradiction. One the one hand you accept the social market economy, but on the other you also advocate continued central planning, even if in a reduced form. How can the two concepts be linked? Let me mention a specific example: I understood that your government still insists that in the case of joint ventures involving large enterprises majority participation must remain in GDR hands, in the state's hands. This means 51 percent in the GDR's hands and up to 49 percent in other hands. Many experts claim that the West will not invest capital under such conditions. The West wants the power of disposing of its capital. If this is not granted, the West is not ready to invest capital. Do you not see internal contradictions there?

[Modrow] Mr Schulmeister, the attitude that you explain is one standpoint of several in the West. Experts have told me that this is not a big problem. Even with 20 or 25 percent one can exert influence. This depends on the nature of the participation and on how the other portion is shaped. Just think about what I said about people's shares. Here you have completely different priorities. I think that this is not the decisive question. At the same time, we have a discussion that exemptions should also be provided by the law. In case economic interests make it necessary, which will certainly be mutual, it should be possible to discuss exemptions.

[Chorherr] Does this mean that you completely rule out the term of privatization which is currently so topical in the West?

[Modrow] No, I do not rule it out. If what I have been talking about is realized, there is also a process of privatization involved.

[Schulmeister] You have repeatedly mentioned the great time pressure, the enormous time pressure that the GDR is facing on its path in the reform process, the democratization process, which also includes the economic sphere. One often has the impression that this is a race against time. The question arises whether it can be won. If economic reforms do not lead to success, to an improvement in the supply situation, an improvement in the housing situation, the renovation of the houses and residential areas that are partly characterized by desolate conditions in the near future, if it is not possible to abolish or at least reduce price subsidies in essential spheres with the social problems that this will naturally entail, if this cannot be brought about in a relatively short period so that people in the GDR see prospects that allow them to stay, that allow them to gather new hope, will there not be a danger that a new flow of resettlers—343,000 GDR citizens arrived in the FRG last year—might start again? To put it differently, will this economic issue not be decisive for the existence of the GDR itself?

[Modrow] There is no doubt that this is the central issue of further development. If you examine many things that you mentioned in your statement, it is completely clear that nothing can happen over night. This is also understandable. You mentioned the housing problem in the towns. It is, of course, necessary to carry out real changes concerning construction projects. We are already taking this into consideration in the 1990 plan. We will not focus on construction in the towns' outskirts. We must tackle tasks in the towns' centers. There have been discussions on cooperation with the FRG in this sphere. The FRG construction minister held talks with her GDR counterpart this week, and I also met with her. We proceed from the assumption that we will start joint work in four towns in the GDR, that we will quickly gather experience which we can apply in other towns, that we will carry out the required construction works, primarily renovations and maintenance. All this will take place in 1990. However, this will be a lengthy process that will be started this year.

Other issues that you mentioned concern both states. During my talk with Chancellor Kohl, we also discussed such issues. I do not want to go into details, but it is clear that we will have further discussions in this sphere in the next few weeks. This is also a question of what effect solidarity between the two states will have in this sphere

so that we can jointly tackle problems of this kind on the path toward the treaty-based community and a community of trust. Chancellor Kohl also mentioned this at a news conference.

[Ritschel] What future way beyond a treaty-based community between the two Germanys do you see? People in Austria may also be concerned about this question. Willy Brandt stated that things that belong together will grow together. How do you see this statement?

[Modrow] First of all, I think that one should not so much proceed from statements by individual politicians, but from the things that people who have direct responsibility must bear jointly. During the meeting in Dresden, Chancellor Kohl and I agreed in principle—a joint statement was issued—that we will embark on the path of a treaty-based community.

[Ritschel] Where will it end?

[Modrow] You ask a question about the end. I must ask a question about the beginning, because we are still at the beginning. Before talking about the end, I must have a clear idea about the beginning and bring it about. This is linked with the question that Mr Schulmeister just asked.

[Schulmeister] One must make a decision about the direction.

[Ritschel] A statement on the end has been made by Mitterrand who claimed that Gorbachev told him that if reunification is brought about, a marshal will take his place.

[Modrow] You are apparently interested in discussing the end.

[Ritschel] ...in discussing the way...

[Modrow, interrupting] I am interested in ...

[Ritschel, interrupting] The goal is not important, only the way.

[Modrow] This is not the important thing. The immediate goal is that we proceed from the fact that both German states exist in Europe, that both German states must link their own fate with the fate of Europe—both the GDR and the FRG—and that we must act in recognition of this responsibility. In this spirit I understand Chancellor Kohl when he comments on his 10-point plan in a very beseeching manner, stating that nobody should interpret them as a pacer, or as a timetable. We agreed on the formulation that good political judgment and reason must prevail, and that all things should be approached with good political judgment. This is important for me. As a matter of fact, I see European developments in such a way that a future lies in this development that will show the economic communities, border issues, and many other questions in a new dimension. However, this a is responsibility to be shared by all European states.

[Ritschel] So you see Germany's future embedded in the European context.

[Modrow] I just wanted to say that. If I listen carefully to what I is being stated in diplomatic circles, including Austrian diplomats, I hear them saying that, if the sense of proportion is lost and everything presses for greater Germany, even Austria would be concerned. We are aware of what happened in the past, and I think we know it from our own experience when we were children, or at least we know about it—including Mr Schulmeister—from history books.

[Schulmeister] Dr Modrow, you just described statements by politicians as not very important. On the other hand, one has seen how history was made by the peoples themselves during the past few months. Contrary to perestroyka in the Soviet Union, the revolution in the GDR was not brought about from above but from below. Does this not mean that all the states' offices were overrun by developments? Statements, hopes, control mechanisms, and stability and a sense of proportion as you call for may be nice things, but will the people want the same things?

[Modrow] I think the situation in the GDR is characterized by the fact that we have rallies that show the one aspect and rallies that show the other aspect. The situation is undergoing a process of debate and clarification. For me this is not the decisive question at the moment. We, the GDR and the FRG, shared the viewpoint that a decision was indeed taking place that was dominated by the people's thinking and behavior, that is of the nation that is living in two states today.

[Ritschel] However, you cannot only proceed on the basis of German-German thinking. From a European or even worldwide viewpoint, there are fears, which are not completely unfounded, that a giant is developing again that might become a factor that is difficult to predict.

[Ritschel] Mr Ritschel, your question is also characterized by a contradiction. At the beginning I stated that my concept is linked with Europe. My concept is based on Europe. I cannot conceive of a German Europe. I am thinking of a Europe in which the two German states are bound in a treaty-based community. I proceed from the assumption that this is in the interest of the European peoples at this point. This was stated during my talks with President Mitterrand and during my talks with Secretary of State Baker. All sides agreed that currently stability in Europe is decisively influenced by the stability of the two German states and the way this treaty-based community is realized. This is the basis for my actions, and I think this is in line with European thinking and European responsibility.

[Schulmeister] However, there are two possibilities now. There is the concept of giving priority to such a treaty-based community, to European unity, the concept of convening a so-called summit conference of the 35 CSCE states as early as next year. These are instruments to prevent a hasty restoration of German unity. However,

there is also another concept that is based on the belief that a treaty-based community should leave the future open. This would not rule out state unity for Germany. This should be left to future developments. I would like to ask you whether this concept is in agreement with your personal ideas. Should a treaty-based community leave developments open or rather prevent unification?

[Modrow] The treaty-based unity is not designed to prevent anything. The treaty-based community—I used this term—is a treaty-based community that should give all European peoples the feeling of security in the current situation, and that should make trust in the existence of the two German states possible. I believe that one must not underestimate the longing for peace of the European peoples. This must be seen in recognition of one's responsibility, and this is the way I think. We must face up to this responsibility, we must not allow a situation to develop in which the Allies' needs—the Soviet Union has made this very clear—are not duly respected and observed. If we talk about a sense of proportion, reason, and stability, everybody must be guided by these principles. As far as the treaty-based community is concerned, I assume, of course, that I will find partners. It is clear what interests the FRG is pursuing. It would never conclude a treaty-based community with a GDR that seals itself off on its back side. The GDR would not conclude a treaty-based community that does not reflect European responsibility, but which includes the broad ideas of a European home which are under discussion nowadays. I would only like to mention Mr Gorbachev, who outlined his intentions and ideas in Strasbourg. All this cannot be ruled out in the future.

[Schulmeister] Let me ask you once more: Will people in the southern GDR also see this, be able to see this in this way in the long run? Tomorrow, Monday [8 January], demonstrations start again in Leipzig. We all saw during the past few weeks how the call for Germany, a united fatherland—a line from the GDR anthem which is again allowed to be sung—became increasingly stronger. I would also like to once more broach economic development. The wish for reunification seems to be a guarantee for many people, many citizens in the GDR, that they can acquire the same living standard as soon as possible, that the gap in prosperity can soon be reduced. How do you want to satisfy these desires, these hopes?

[Modrow] Of course, these considerations have absolutely been included in the treaty-based unity. We held talks with Dr Schillinger. You know him as a former economics minister. He dealt with the questions as to how joint economic developments can take place within a treaty-based community. I also proceed from the assumption that this aspect is of particular importance for us, because it is not only the GDR that will be interested in Western markets in the future. The Western side is also interested in Eastern markets. Through this economic cooperation, the GDR will also be an interesting partner who can help to open up Eastern markets. This in turn is in the interest of European developments because there is also an economic aspect to Europe's growing together. There is a chance seen—I once more revert to what you said—that the citizens in the GDR will establish firmer ties with their home, firmer ties than in the past, that they also see a chance that developments in the GDR will open up prospects through a treaty-based community that are to be jointly considered in recognition of one's responsibility and which are to be jointly borne in recognition of one's responsibility for Europe and for us Germans.

[Chorherr] Mr Prime Minister, we have talked a lot about the way and you repeatedly used the terms of stability and of the European home. Let me ask you a very direct question: Do you consider the development that has started with perestroyka to be irreversible, no matter whether it is linked with Gorbachev or with somebody else in the Kremlin, or do you think that developments may be reversed, that a step back, a reaction, or whatever one may call it could take place?

[Modrow] No, absolutely not.

[Chorherr] Let me also ask you how safe Gorbachev's position is.

[Modrow] Let me first answer the first question. Developments are absolutely irreversible. At the beginning you asked about the concept of Marxism. There is no way back. Things are irreversible, both on the basis of theoretical considerations that have been made in this connection, and, above all, because of the attitude of the people themselves and of all our country's democratic forces. If one observes developments in the CSSR and in other places, this is even clearer. We all saw with deep emotion what happened in Romania. People must continue to proceed on the nonviolent path, and to shape and to carry out all other processes in the same way until results are finally obtained. I am absolutely convinced that developments are irreversible. There is only the possibility of further shaping the path that has been embarked on in a future-oriented manner.

As far as Gorbachev is concerned, I would like to say that the debates of the CPSU Central Committee's most recent session were not free from fundamental debates and discussions, which was also reflected in the publications. At the same time there is trust in perestroyka as a concept, and thus also in the person of Gorbachev, who represents this concept. There is no doubt that he will have to make great new efforts. It has been announced that he will be traveling to Latvia in order to discuss party issues. There is a certain tension, but I proceed from the assumption that he enjoys the confidence.

[Chorherr] In the Central Committee?

[Modrow] Not only in the Central Committee. I think that he is supported by all who advocate perestroyka. It has become clear in the Soviet Union that this process has a basis in this country.

[Ritschel] Do you think that a political process is developing there as well that goes in the same direction as in the other East bloc states?

[Modrow] In my view, democratization will deepen as a result of the processes that are taking place there. The Soviet Union has already taken essential steps—if you look at the way the Supreme Soviet works, how it has for some time made many problems in parliamentary work visible, which was never common practice in our countries. I think that development is under way in the Soviet Union that shows that quite a number of steps have been taken. At the same time we know about a number of controversial discussions in Leningrad and other places. I hope that these debates will become constructive again in the next few months so that perestroyka can be continued.

[Schulmeister] Well, your words suggested a little skepticism. Mr Prime, Minister, a CEMA meeting is taking place in Sofia on Tuesday [9 January]. Do you consider the Eastern economic community reformable or do you, rather, agree with the CSSR Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus who suggested that everything should be dissolved. Would the EC, extended to the whole of Europe, be the model of economic integration?

[Modrow] I do not share the ideas of the CSSR finance minister. In a talk with his chief, the head of the government, I got the impression that he does not proceed from this concept either. We agreed that we consider fundamental changes within CEMA necessary, and that we consider transitional forms useful so that cooperation, which is of course aimed at the convertibility of the currencies and at the adaptation to world market prices, is continued in accordance with economic reforms in order to keep our economic community stable, which, as a matter of fact, accounts for the major part of our foreign trade. This is my starting point. At the same time, I also proceed from the fact that all experiences have shown that bilateral relations that were important in the past will even be more significant in the future.

[Schulmeister] I would like to ask you a question that also concerns Eastern Europe, the sphere of the former East Bloc—one can no longer use this term. Do you consider it possible that the model of neutral states, a belt of neutral states—known as Finlandization—may be significant in the future?

[Modrow] I would like to come back to the other aspect. There is no doubt that new relations are being established between all states in Europe. These questions will concern us in the East European states as well. This is a problem that will be discussed in Sofia. The GDR wants to deepen relations with the EC. This has been discussed, and, as head of the GDR Government, I addressed a message to the EC conference, which was benevolently received. We want to deepen and further pursue this policy. This means we will not stand on one leg only.

[Chorherr] Do you also see changes in the Warsaw Pact?

[Modrow] Concerning the Warsaw Pact, I proceed from the fact that the longing for peace in Europe requires a balance. During a process that lies ahead of us, several things may change. They may change in the sense that, as members of the Warsaw Pact, we never were against dissolving the blocks. However, this should be done on an equal basis and through all the steps that will hopefully be taken after the talks between Bush and Gorbachev and lead to quick results in Vienna. I believe that this is the process for which we must struggle. As a result, answers to all other questions that exist between the two military alliances will be found.

[Ritschel] Let me ask you a brief personal question. You want to continue your work as a politician after 6 May?

[Modrow] Yes, I want to do this. Tell me, what politician takes part in elections with the idea that he does not want to continue his work?

[Schulmeister] Thank you very much, Mr Prime Minister Modrow, thank you gentlemen. Dr Modrow, you will presumably have another meeting with Chancellor Kohl at the beginning of February. There will be a lot of meetings at this level before 6 May. We thank you for accepting our invitation to come to the GDR television's studio. I thank our colleagues from GDR television for their technical assistance. I think I can say that Austria is generally following the process of democratization of the reforms in the GDR with great sympathy and solidarity and with great interest. I would like to wish you all the best for successful reforms. Thank you very much. Good bye.

Diplomatic Relations With Chile Restored

LD1101121390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] [Announcer] The event is international in nature but it occurred here at home. This morning the two countries' representatives agreed to restore diplomatic relations between Hungary and Chile. Peter Zentay reports:

[Zentay] The documents on the establishment of full diplomatic relations may well have been signed, but they do not say a word about just when the ambassadors will occupy their posts. It is true that Luis Winter, general director of the Chilean Foreign Ministry, in an interview to our radio indicated that as soon as his country's new head of state has been installed in mid-March, the Santiago government will immediately send its ambassador to Budapest.

Though Jozsef Benyi, Hungarian deputy foreign minister, has now ceremoniously stated that building relations is connected with the process of democratization taking place in both states, I nevertheless learned from Mr Winter that sounding-out discussions had started between Hungary and Chile over 2 years ago, but, of course, amid strict secrecy. From the general director I also learned that the same kind of discussions are currently taking place between Chilean and Soviet diplomats in various parts of the world. This is, at the same time, a negative reply to my question whether in fact Budapest will perhaps mediate between Moscow and Santiago.

Gyula Horn Winds Up Visit to Israel

Meets Shamir, Peres, Herzog

LD0801222490 Budapest MTI in English 2035 GMT 8 Jan 90

[Text] Jerusalem, January 8 (MTI)—Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn met Yitzhaq Shamir, prime minister and head of the Likud wing of Israel's Unity government, Shim'on Peres, first deputy prime minister and minister of finance, Hayim Herzog, president, and the heads of the Foreign Affairs and Security Committees of the Knesset in Jerusalem on Monday [8 January]. Mr Horn arrived in Israel on a three-day official visit on Sunday.

On the Monday talks, nothing has been formally disclosed. Shlomo Marom, Israeli ambassador to Hungary who is staying in Jerusalem in Mr Horn's company, told an MTI correspondent that Prime Minister Shamir held "very good talks" with the Hungarian foreign minister.

In an earlier interview, Deputy Prime minister Peres told MTI he agreed with Gyula Horn that Hungary had got rid of the past difficulties so a new chapter would open in bilateral relations. Mr Peres stressed that the Israeli Government would make every effort possible in a market economy to encourage Israeli investment in Hungary, mainly in the form of joint ventures. He added that the United States was going to ease the COCOM [Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls] restrictions so there would not be obstacle to cooperation between Hungarian and Israeli firms in the field of high technology. (Israel is not a COCOM member but, as an ally of the United States, usually observes the COCOM regulations.)

On Monday, the "YEDI'OT AHARONOT" daily quoted Gyula Horn as saying that the Jewish agency would be allowed to open an office in Budapest and work without any restriction in Hungary.

According to the "MA'ARIV" daily, Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth is scheduled to visit Israel in February.

Final Day in Israel Reported

LD0901163390 Budapest MTI in English 1430 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Tel Aviv, January 9 (MTI)—Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth is to pay an official visit to Israel in the second half of February, Hungarian Foreign Minister, Gyula Horn, announced in Tel Aviv today.

On Tuesday, the third day of his official visit, Mr Horn met with leading Israeli businessmen in Tel Aviv. The participants, including the presidents of the federation of Israeli manufacturers, the Federation of the Israeli Chambers of Commerce, the Export Institute, the Klal and Koor concerns, and the leaders of Elscint and Telrad, Israel's foremost electronics companies, thought that trade turnover between Hungary and Israel could rise to 200 million dollars within two years from the 40 million dollars recorded in 1989. In 1985, the two countries had a turnover of only 7-8 million dollars.

The Federation of Israeli manufacturers announced it would be sending a delegation of businessmen to Hungary in order to survey the possibilities for founding joint ventures.

Bank Leumi of Israel plans to set up a joint bank with the Hungarian Credit Bank whose headquarters are in Budapest. According to Tel Aviv, Israeli businessmen, who expect Hungary to be the key to East European and Third World markets, could invest 20-25 million dollars' worth of capital a year in Hungary, not only from Israel, but also from the West through their international contacts.

About the talks he held with politicians on Monday, Mr Horn told MTI that he experienced a great deal of esteem in Israel for Hungary's initiating role.

In addition to the Hungarian-Israeli agreements signed since last year in the field of tourism and air transport, veterinary care and plant protection, energetics and telecommunications, television and radio, health care and trade, in addition to the latest cultural, educational and scientific agreement, accords on investment protection and support, and the elimination of double taxation

are to be signed in February, said Mr Horn, adding that 'The Israeli Government intends setting up a fund to finance Hungarian investments.'

In the course of his talks with Prime Minister Shamir, Deputy Prime Minister Peres, head of state Herzog and Foreign Minister Arens, Mr Horn confirmed that Hungary's position on the Middle East situation was basically the same: The problems should be solved by peaceful means and with the help of international consultations. Although Israel's standpoint is different, the sides stated this would not hamper the development of bilateral relations.

Mr Horn also told Israeli politicians that the Hungarian Government was ready to make an objective assessment of Zionism. (The 1975 UN General Assembly, it will be remembered, labelled Zionism a racist ideology).

'Israeli scholars could do research into the relics of the holocaust in Hungary, and the government is thinking seriously about opening a museum in memory of the 1944-45 events,' the Hungarian foreign minister said.

On Tuesday, Gyula Horn concluded his official visit to Israel and left Tel Aviv.

Pozsgay Holds Talks With Romania's Lupoi

LD0501210590 Budapest MTI in English 1921 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, January 5 (MTI)—On Friday, Minister of State Imre Pozsgay met Mihai Lupoi, Romanian minister of tourism, who held successful negotiations in Budapest on transport and tourist relations.

During the cordial meeting, Mr Pozsgay gave assurances that Hungary would continue to give every possible support to promote democratic transformation in Romania.

The people's revolution in Romania is regarded by Mr Pozsgay as a landmark for the whole of Europe, and hoped it would also open a new chapter in Hungarian-Romanian relations. 'We are interested in the emergence of a Romania with a democratic establishment, where the autonomy of ethnic minorities will be officially guaranteed', said Mr Pozsgay, and drew attention to the fact that the wall of distrust should be demolished from both sides.

New Customs Laws on Travel to Romania

LD0501224290 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 5 Jan 89

[Text] Important news for those travelling to Romania: Beginning Monday, the original customs regulations are also valid for those who take donations to Romania privately. Accordingly, every Hungarian citizen can only take 5 kg of foodstuffs, and gifts valued up to 3,000 forints, which cannot contain medicines.

Delivery of donations by parties, organizations, and churches, in the case of medical products, can be authorized by the Social and Health Ministry. All other products can be authorized by the Trade Ministry.

Restrictions on Aid Exports to Romania

LD0901183490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1500 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Hungary naturally continues to support Romania, but this must take place within organizational forms, above all.

For this reason, beginning tomorrow gasoline, diesel fuel, margarine, cooking oil, paprika, meat, and foodstuffs imported from the West may not be exported to Romania as part of any aid delivery. The competent person at the National Command of the Customs and Excise Guard also said that henceforth the international aid organizations, the churches, and parties can deliver their donations to the neighboring country only if they list the aid consignments on a printed form, item by item. The requisite forms can be obtained from the country's customs offices.

MSZP Briefing on Romania, CPSU Contacts

LD2812213389 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] [Announcer] Since the formation of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] Pal Vastagh, Presidium member, was the first MSZP politician to hold negotiations with CPSU leaders in Moscow. As well as the establishment of contacts, the East European, including the Romanian, changes were discussed. Csaba Vas, another Presidium member, acquainted himself with the situation in Cluj. Janos Hollos was present at their news conference.

[Hollos] The Transylvania question must not be a subject of political competition between parties in the Hungarian general election. This is a crucial question in regard to furthering the revolution and democratization in Romania. Care must be taken to avoid creating conflicts between the Hungarian and the Romanian ethnic groups in Romania, thus bringing back the spirit of irredentist ideology manufactured by the Ceausescu clan. For raising the Transylvania question in this way could touch extraordinary sensitivities even today in Romania.

This is how Csaba Vas, Presidium member, summed up his talks with the Magyar church and intelligentsia leaders at his press conference this afternoon. Csaba Vas, by the way, arrived back from Cluj this morning. He accompanied an aid delivery there and managed to talk to almost all of the known Magyar leaders there.

At the same news conference Pal Vastagh, MSZP Presidium member, spoke about the first official establishment of contacts with the CPSU. The result of this is that both parties believe that relations between them have

not suffered from the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party turning into the MSZP. The relationship between the two remains one of partnership. The Soviet side expounded that they did not want to achieve the salvation of the socialist ideological system but a better, more humane system. In reply to my question as to why there is uncertainty on the Soviet leadership's part regarding the evaluation of the Romanian revolution in its early days, Pal Vastagh said that while the Soviet leadership did not expect the transition to be as peaceful as in Hungary or in other Eastern bloc countries, they did not think that the change would be such a landslide.

The Soviets will propose this spring that all the CEMA member states change over to dollar accounting from the present ruble accounting.

Europe After 'Morbidly Mendacious' Ceausescu

AU0501131890 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 27 Dec 89 p 3

[Peter Vajda editorial: "Europe After Ceausescu"]

[Text] Nicolae Ceausescu, the criminal dictator and the Pol Pot of South-Eastern Europe, has left the stage just like a Dracula. The state's new name is Romania (until now the Socialist Republic of Romania) and the least we must conclude (and, as a socialist daily, we do this with bitterness) is that the head of this mafia family could not have done more to discredit the ideals of socialism.

Recently, a series of leading politicians kept saying that they were surprised by the dictator's fall; perhaps not by the fact itself, but by the speed of the process. Nobody has any reason to question the honesty of these statements: Dictatorships and apparatuses of oppression projected power, and people—including politicians—are liable to overestimate the power of the "Secu" [short form for Securitate—the Romanian internal security service] and its armed forces and to underestimate other forces, including the opposition to tyranny and the rage created by nepotism, the abuse of power, and corruption. And they are liable to underestimate the power of examples, namely all that is happening beyond the borders that can no longer be surrounded by barbed wires and walls, things that cannot be hidden from the people in the age of modern mass media. (It will be the historians task to show the importance of this factor in the GDR's revolutionary changes and in Romania's popular uprising.) Many of the world's leading politicians have mystified the power of nationalistic dictatorship: otherwise a politician called Draculescu would not have been granted so many decorations.

We must be modest before blaming those who conferred the knighthood on this gangster, and those who, in another capital, conferred him the gold star of a hero. We must be modest because the Hungarian political leadership did not evaluate things differently either. All the previous Hungarian leaders were aware of the fact that the emporer was naked, but they thought that the people should not be aware of this truth. There were tough "snaps" at the Debrecen-Nagyvarad summit meeting at the time, but all these remained "strictly secret." Even after the summit in Arad, the impression conveyed was that at least some compromises could be extracted from this morbidly mendacious dictator. However, all we should have said there and then was that it was our diffficult responsibility to try to negotiate with Ceausescu on behalf of the Hungarian minority in Transylvania, but this politician was inflexibly incapable of negotiating. The principle of "our dog's puppy," applied for a long time in connection with the "ally" Ceausescu, cost our previous political leaderships dearly, primarily because they contradicted the facts. The Romanian regime has hauntingly resembled fascism for decades, while a contradictory process in Hungary has essentially been preparing the conditions for a peaceful transition....

There are people who think that politics is unable to learn from the past. They are mistaken. We are living in a catharsis-age in world politics today. Barely 3 weeks after the Warsaw Pact countries had collectively condemned the tragic 1968 intervention in the CSSR for the first time—an intervention that the West condemned from the outset—the French and U.S. foreign ministers declared that the West and NATO would agree with a Soviet or Warsaw Pact intervention on the side of the popular uprising. This statement was made at an extremely tense historic moment, when it was not yet sure who would defeat whom in Romania. This moment is definitely behind us, and the people and the Army have emerged victorious; besides, the Soviet leadership did not consider a military intervention. However, this green light from Paris and Washington, like a drop in the ocean, shows that we are now living in a totally different world from the world of 1 year ago: This is a post-Yalta world. And a post-Draculescu world.

Editorial Views Future of Hungarians in Romania

AU1001135390 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 29 Dec 89 p 3

[Bela Pomogats editorial: "Present Time"]

[Text] History is now taking place in central Europe, and the most dramatic series of events have taken place in Romania. Compared with the recent events in central Europe, the Romanian revolution turned out to be the most radical, the most unusual, and the most ruthless.

In other places, the increasingly necessary changes took place in the form of "silent revolutions." Romanians had to attain these changes by means of a bloody revolution: passionate mass demonstrations, volleys of firing and cruelty by the police, the occupation of the television station, the switch-over of the Army, the creation of new bodies of power, and finally, the condemnation and execution of the head and symbol of this tyranny by a revolutionary court.

Although the terrible events are still swirling before our eyes and in our nightmares, we must look into the future:

Better sooner than later, we must formulate the "strategic" concepts by which we want to influence the development of Hungarian-Romanian relations and the situation of the Hungarian minority living in Transylvania, being aware that these two things are closely related. We are also aware that the possible political structure of a virtual central Europe depends primarily on how we succeed in creating a Hungarian- Romanian "historical compromise."

The revolution in Bucharest has already eliminated several obstacles in the way of this reconciliation, first of all Ceausescu's tyranny, which applied dictatorial measures to annihilate the Hungarian minority in Transylvania and which eliminated this minority's institutions almost entirely within a period of 2 decades, institutions which had developed after World War II. Following the revolution in Bucharest, the so-called "systematization" plan, which has become known as the "village destruction" plan, has been scrapped, and the National Salvation Front's leaders announced that they intended to respect the rights of minorities living in Romania and to place Romanian-Hungarian relations on new foundations.

It is a promising development that two well-known Hungarian officials were also included in the aforementioned National Salvation Front's leading body: Geza Domokos, who, as the director of the Kriterion Publishing House, has always been one of the leaders of the Hungarian intellectual opposition; and Presbyterian Priest Laszlo Tokes, who has been this opposition's symbol and whose harassment also contributed to the explosion of the people's passions in Temesvar [Timisoara]. It is hoped that these people will be able to effectively represent the interests of the Hungarian population in Transylvania.

However, the major sign of renewal is the establishment of the Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania in Bucharest, Kolozsvar [Cluj], and Marosvasarhely [Tirgu Mures] (and, since then, perhaps also in other cities in Transylvania), federations led by respected and genuine public figures like Geza Domokos, Laszlo Tokes, Andras Suto, Karoly Kiraly, Edgar Balogh, Sandor Kanyadi, and Aladar Laszloffy. In addition, new Hungarian-language newspapers have started publication: The ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO [THE HUNGARIAN WORD IN ROMANIA], which was the central press organ of Hungarians living in Romania after World War II, will again appear in Bucharest and will replace the repeatedly discredited ELORE, which lost credit with the public. New Hungarian newspapers have also been issued in Kolozsvar and Marosvasarhely.

We are well aware that the elimination of Ceausescu's tyranny and of the bureaucracy and guard that maintained and served this tyranny does not automatically mean the fall of the great Romanian nationalism. There were chauvinistic passions and hatred of foreigners in Romania even before the appearance of this dictator. We wish that the popular victory over tyranny had defeated the exaggerated historical and original myths and had eliminated at long last the lack of confidence and aversions toward the national minorities.

However, the fate of the Hungarians in Transylvania should not be decided by the future development of the Romanians' national self-awareness. One of the great lessons of the history of the fading dictatorships in central Europe—and not only in the case of Romania—is that individual and community human rights should be guaranteed by reliable institutions. The Hungarians in Transylvania do not simply need the goodwill and sympathy of the majority, but need their own political, cultural, and economic institutions that could be the secure guarantees for their survival and development in Transylvania.

The Hungarians in Transylvania primarily need their institutions, which they once possessed and which tyranny has taken away from them and eliminated. The Democratic Federation of Hungarians in Romania has also pointed out that the Hungarians in Transylvania need a full educational system of their own, from kindergarten to university. There is no need to create new institutions, but simply to restore the previous independent Hungarian general, secondary, and professional schools, the Hungarian Science University in Kolozsvar, the Medical Science University in Marosvasarhely, and other institutions of higher education.

The aforementioned Federation demanded restoring the official use of the Hungarian language (including, naturally, the use of Hungarian place names, first names, street names, and other inscriptions); creating a democratic national minority law; and establishing a ministry in charge of national minorities. These are not new demands either; they were already voiced after World War II, and the national minority law, which was called the "National Minority Statute" at the time, was even implemented in certain respects. However, this law turned out to be a very short-lived one, as the power in Bucharest withdrew this law after a short time.

Naturally, all these things should be supplemented with additional institutions: an independent Hungarian press, the revival of the prestigious cultural and scientific associations, like the Transylvania Museum Association, the creation of Hungarian scientific workshops in Transylvania, the restoration of Hungarian theaters that had functioned previously, the full guarantee of freedom for national minority churches, and last but not least, the creation of political representation and self-government of the Hungarians in Transylvania. Without systematically and efficiently creating this representation and self-government, the nicest declaration will only remain a dead letter.

And one more thing: Determining the rights of Hungarians in Romania also requires that these people have totally unhindered contacts with the Hungarians living in Hungary and in the Carpathian Basin and with their culture and institutions. Books and press originating

from Hungary should be available throughout Romania's entire territory without any restrictions. In other words, the "iron curtain" character of the Romanian-Hungarian border created by the governments in Bucharest over the years, and not only by the recently eliminated tyranny, should be eliminated, and Peter Groza's dream of "aerial" borders should be implemented. This is not only in the Hungarian's interest, but also in that of Hungarian-Romanian cooperation, and thus, in the Romanian people's interest.

Policy on Hungarians Living Abroad Reassessed

LD3012134189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0530 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Excerpt] [Announcer] The Nationality and Ethnic Minority College of the Council of Ministers held an extraordinary session yesterday in the wake of the developments in Romania. After the session, Deputy Minister Csaba Tabajdi replied to questions from Andras Kerekes.

[Begin recording] [Kerekes] When we heard about this extraordinary session, we thought about events in other neighboring countries, too, and I think everyone also must have thought of this as a rare situation, in that a strategy that had been worked out only recently had to be fundamentally amended.

[Tabajdi] Thank goodness, I would say! We happily threw out our strategy on Transylvania, on what we would do if the Ceausescu era was maintained or if it was amended, a strategy that was prepared in secret. We had not even dreamed of such deep changes! We thought that there would be some kind of personnel change within the Ceausescu family. We did not expect a people's movement of such a degree, a degree of revolution and opposition truly unknown in the Romanian people's history. There were peasant uprisings, but there was not such a degree of revolution, of movement. We should think separately about why in Romania it was principally in the Translyvanian part and the [word indistinct] where this self-awareness began, and standing up to the dictatorship, and why the other parts of Romania, beyond the Carpathians, remained essentially calm. In any case, this could be the subject of a longer analysis.

We have to rethink things radically, and not just with regard to Romania. This also applies to Hungarians in Czechoslovakia. In Yugoslavia now there is not such a degree of change. All the same, in Croatia and Slovenia internal political power relations have moved in the direction of a multiparty system. In Vojvodina, too, back on 18 December, there was an initiative, but this did not move to the forefront of the Hungarian public's interest for obvious reasons, because of the dramatic consequences of the Romanian situation.

So, we have to rethink everything, all strategic questions. The essence of the whole thing is—and this is the great dramatic point of the situation—that today Hungary, in the first place because of its stable economic situation, could exercise enormous powers of attraction on the neighboring countries. [passage omitted] [end recording]

MDF Alleges Coverup at Interior Ministry

LD1001150390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] has made public its stance connected with the Hungarian Watergate affair. The reporter is Janos Hollos:

[Hollos] In the MDF's opinion the affair that has come to be known by the name of Watergate is not simply a phone-tapping scandal. According to the MDF's information, the outlines of a larger-scale affair are beginning to emerge. The mass of documents that has become public in fact appears to be a thematic compilation, whose object is to harm relations between the opposition parties. There is a danger that the Interior Ministry is in the process of removing traces, in the in other words the annihilation of compromising documents about former Interior Ministry informers and about the various dirty affairs of internal deterrence. For this reason MDF has declared its stance in connection with the affair. This stance notes the following: The MDF demands a parliamentary ad hoc committee consisting of opposition and independent deputies; and it wants personal consequences to be drawn, taking into consideration the examinations conducted in the affair, without regard to any other interests.

Apart from this, the MDF demands the sequestration of the documents and their full protection, and in addition the separation of the state security organization from the Interior Ministry and its subordination to the premier, in the form of a constitution-protecting office under the supervision of a parliamentary committee.

In addition, the MDF agrees with proposals to the effect that demonstrations should be considered the Interior Ministry's concern. However, a distinction must be made between the mafiosos of internal deterrence and the policy defending public security, because there is a need for good public security and thus for a good police force.

Hotel Chain, Airline To Be Privatized

AU0301155690 Paris AFP in English 1530 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Budapest, Jan 3 (AFP)—Hungarian state-owned hotel chain Danubius, which has 15 hotels, is to be privatised as a joint venture public company, a Danubius spokesman said Wednesday. Danubius has already established contacts with potential foreign investors, although talks are only at a preliminary stage, Vice-President Alexandre Betegh said.

But the privatisation plan is being hampered by lack of experience on the international financial market, Mr. Bretegh said. "We have called on Austrian experts who are currently advising us on the options available."

Danubius, whose hotels include the five-star Hilton and the four-star Gellert in Budapest, hopes to negotiate with banks or investment organisations rather than foreign hotel operators, Mr. Betegh said. "We have the know-how. All we are lacking is the financing to modernise our hotel assets."

The 235-room Gellert, which is 72 years old, will cost some 55 million dollars, or close to its current market value, to modernise, he said.

Danubius hopes that the new public company will be quoted on the international market, or at least in Vienna. Foreign participation "could even exceed 50 per cent," Mr. Bretegh said.

Several Hungarian state-owned companies are moving towards privatisation as part of current economic reforms.

On Tuesday the government announced that the Malev airline, whose 15 Soviet-built planes urgently need replacing, was to be privatised. Two weeks ago, the Hungar hotel chain, which has about 100 hotels across the country and in Vienna and Munich, linked up with a Swedish company.

HDF Official on Electoral Law, Minorities

LD2812224489 Budapest MTI in English 2134 GMT 28 Dec 89

[Text] Budapest, December 28 (MTI)—The new electoral law does not provide appropriate frameworks for the parliamentary representation of the ethnic minorities in Hungary, it was stated at the Thursday session of the Nationality and Minority Committee of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (HDF) in Budapest. HDF Press Secretary Bela Horvath informed MTI about the position approved at the session.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum considers the effective interest representation of the Hungarian minorities to be indispensable, and it wishes to promote the realization of this with its possibilities and means. The Hungarian Democratic Forum thus accepts to enter one or more representatives of all Hungarian nationalities or ethnic minorities as its own candidate in the individual, and list nomination form. When selecting the candidates, the Democratic Forum would like to rely on the initiatives of the minority population, and the proposals of the minority federations, and the newly created organizations of the ethnic minorities.

HDF Says Moral Renewal Taking Place

LD3012141289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1300 GMT 30 Dec 89

[Text] According to the Hungarian Democratic Forum [HDF], a process of moral renewal has started in Hungarian society. The historic transformation could contribute to the cessation of political conflicts. The HDF has issued an appeal in connection with Romanian events and the new political situation to the new democratic organizations of central and Eastern Europe. The document proposes that the organizations concerned commit themselves to the preservation of unity and political pluralism. One of the most important touchstones of democracy is tolerance toward those who have different political views, and who are of different religions and languages—that is, the minorities—says the HDF appeal.

CSSR-Polish Officials Meet, Discuss Cooperation

Mazowiecki Receives Klaus

LD0301213790 Warsaw PAP in English 2052 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 3—Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus visited Warsaw today at the invitation of Poland's finance minister, Vice Premier Leszek Balcerowicz.

The talks held by the two at the Ministry of Finance focused on the econmic problems of both countries. Klaus took special interest in the solutions adopted in the Polish stabilization program. The ministers also discussed proposals of settling mutual tourist contacts.

In the afternoon Klaus was received by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki. The two discussed the recent events in Czechoslovakia and other countries in the region. Against this backdrop, they stressed the tremendous importance of cooperation between Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Mazowiecki also touched upon the problem of stopping construction on the coking plant in Stonava. Klaus told the Polish premier that the matter would soon be discussed by the Czechoslovak Government. He also relayed greetings to Mazowiecki from Czechoslovakia's President Vaclav Havel and an invitation to pay a visit to Prague. Expressing an expectation that this would be the first visit of the head of a foreign government to Czechoslovakia following the recent events, Mazowiecki received the invitation with satisfaction.

Federation With CSSR Suggested

LD0401135190 Warsaw PAP in English 1210 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 4—The concept of Polish-Czechoslovak integration has been put forward at least twice. In a radio-aired press conference on January 2, former security adviser to the U.S. President Zbigniew Brzezinski suggested a "Polish-Czechoslovak federation." A few days earlier, in an extensive article carried by the GAZETA WYBORCZA Solidarity daily, Professor Andrzej Kozminski of Warsaw University came out in favour of a "Polish-Czech union".

PAP journalists have asked deputies and senators of the parliamentary foreign committee for their opinions on the matter. Here is what they said:

Senator Stanislaw Hoffmann: According to me, it would be right to form a union of countries of our bloc: Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary to counterbalance other economic and political forces in Europe. I can see the future here, within these countries as they have similar economic structures.

Deputy Jerzy Rusecki: I think that the concept is interesting and right. I back it also because the Czechs and Slovaks are closest to us among Slav nations, they are our kinsmen. But will they agree to this? The first foreign trip by the new president—to the GDR and the FRG—seems to show what direction they are interested in in particular.

Senator Stanislaw Stomma: I greatly support the concept. I consider this proposal very correct. This would create a balanced situation in Europe through the formation of a new strong political organism. There are no contradictions between both states and many common interests.

Deputy Janusz Onyszkiewicz: The question of a Polish-Czechoslovak federation is not new, it was very topical after the outbreak of the 2nd World War, which was even reflected in certain declarations signed by both governments-in-exile. At present, we all want to find ourselves in one Europe and it is hard to say what it will be like. One must not think of it as a simple continuation of the EC.

In my opinion, it would be easier for us if our road to Europe—here I have in mind such countries as Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and others—was a common road and came as a result of joint actions and an agreement on the matter.

Senator Andrzej Szcyzpiorski: It seems to me that it is a question of distant future. First of all, one must overcome various resentments. The totalitarian heritage must be dealt with in the first place. We did handle it politically but not psychologically. The same concerns also Czechs and Slovaks. I think that one should follow a more simple direction—what De Gaulle called a Europe of homelands and what Gorbachev calls a common European house.

CSSR Dienstbier To Visit

LD0401133890 Warsaw PAP in English 1238 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 4—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier will come for a visit to Poland on Jan 10 at the invitation from his Polish counterpart, Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

Possible Federation Examined

AU0901140390 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 4 Jan 89 p 1

[Jacek Moskwa commentary: "What Will There Be Instead?]

[Text] Political science contains the concept "self-fulfilling forecast." It is simultaneously a prediction of a result and a plan of action to achieve that result. Professor Zbigniew Brzezinski is one of the few political theoreticians and practicians whose forecasts in recent years have been fulfilled, especially those on the subject of East-West relations and the ways to overcome the Yalta division of Europe.

In a Polish radio and Voice of America program on Tuesday, Professor Brzezinski said that one of the objectives of Polish foreign policy ought to be to lay the foundations for a federation with Czechoslovakia. This idea is not new. Leaving aside the era of the Jagiello dynasty, when there was an actual dynastic union, the idea of closer links between the two countries was considered during talks between General Sikorski and President Benes during World War II. Stalin's objection was the reason why this idea did not materialize. In turn, Stalin's successors made sure Wladyslaw Gomulka's idea of a "triangle of steel"—Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the GDR—did not materialize either.

Instead of establishing lateral links between countries, "socialist integration" consolidated links with Moscow. This was a "star-like" arrangement, and not an organic one. At the same time, there were no economic incentives for this kind of cooperation. Despite years of efforts, it has not even been possible to organize broader cooperation between Zetor and Ursus [automotive industry plants in the CSSR and Poland respectively]. However, our involvement in our southern neighbor's affairs did result in the shameful intervention there in 1968.

As a result of the new situation in South-East Europe, the geopolitical factor need no longer be an obstacle to a future federation. On the contrary, Mikhail Gorbachev, who is faced with a very real danger to his country's unity, should be different from Stalin and Khrushchev. He should be interested in the emergence of a stronger political organism, a screen of stability on his Western flank.

Closer cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Poland, together with certain institutional solutions, seem to make exceedingly good sense now that there are prospects for German unity. I do not mean there is a direct threat to our borders. What I mean is that the neighboring colossus would present economic and political domination. Together, our two countries still contain considerable potential, and Czechoslovakia, with its absence of debts and strong, though not modern, industry, is a natural partner for us. We can contribute to this union with our expanded relations with the West and our more advanced market mechanisms.

The fact that for the first time since the Jagiello era both countries possess a political leadership that has not been imposed from outside, and that both leaderships enjoy a common tradition of friendship and struggle for human rights, is no doubt a very favorable circumstance. For many years, the Workers Defense Committee [KOR] was Charter 77's only ally. People such as Adam Michnik, Zbigniew Janas, Jan Litynski, and other activists of "Polish-Czechoslovak Solidarity" are genuine friends of Vaclav Havel and his colleagues.

Nevertheless, sentiment is rarely the most important factor in politics. What counts is the balance of forces, mainly economic forces in today's world, plus a competition between interests. That is why the new Czechoslovak president's first trip was to East Berlin and Bonn. This is quite reasonable, for the FRG represents Poland's and Czechoslovakia's greatest chance of receiving economic aid and foreign investments. However, our emotional misgivings are also understandable.

Nevertheless it is difficult to avoid the impression that our diplomacy has missed a chance. The new GDR leadership, itself newly in office, has been able to establish contacts with its Czechoslovak counterparts relatively quickly. All Poland has done is to send greetings messages. And yet Prague is becoming our most important potential partner. Until now, it has been a place where members of previous unsuccessful political and economic teams were sent. As diplomats, they were excellent partners for Indra or Jakes, but for people of peace like Havel, never!

Time is proceeding faster and faster in our part of Europe. We are printing an interview with the new Czechoslovak finance minister, who is considering the possibility of withdrawing his country from CEMA. Someone in Poland ought to ask him: What will there be instead?

P.S. After this commentary had been written, we received news that Minister Vaclav Klaus has invited Tadeusz Mazowiecki to pay an official visit to Czechoslovakia. Our premier will be the first government head to visit that country since the latest events.

Dienstbier Arrives on Visit

LD1001175190 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Czechoslovak Foreign Minister, Jiri Dienstbier, today began an official visit to Warsaw at the invitation of Krzysztof Skubiszewski, who welcomed the visitor at Okecie Airport. Talks between both heads of diplomacy are envisaged for tomorrow. Minister Dienstbier will be received by President Wojciech Jaruzelski and Premier Tadeusz Maziowiecki, who in a several days' time goes on a visit to Czechoslovakia.

Dienstbier, Skubiszewski Comment on Talks

LD1001204790 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Jiri Dienstbier, Czechoslovak minister of foreign affairs, today arrived in Poland for an official visit. Petr Lukes reports from Warsaw Airport:

[Lukes] The Czechoslovak minister was welcomed by Krzysztof Skubiszewski, foreign minister of the Polish Republic, shortly after 1600.

In a conversation with journalists immediately after his arrival, Jiri Dienstbier outlined the joint problems which could be solved now and those which must be solved in the future. He said this is the main aim of his visit. He

expressed the conviction that mutual Czechoslovak-Polish relations will now develop better than in the past, when they were being limited by totalitarian bureaucracies.

Asked about the possibility of creating a Polish-Czechoslovak federation, the Czechoslovak foreign minister replied: Theoreticians often think up various concepts, but I favor real cooperation. I think that we are concerned with the creation of a pluralist Europe and not with the creation of new blocs.

Polish Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski told journalists he is pleased that Jiri Dienstbier came to Poland so soon after taking on his post. We consider this an indicator of our good relations. We have a lot of work ahead of us. Under new conditions in a changing Europe, Czechoslovakia and Poland have a wide field of action, Minister Skubiszewski said at the end of a short speech.

Skubiszewski on Confederation

LD1101104490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0730 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] Recently there has been discussion on the possible [word indistinct] ties of our country with Czechoslovakia. Is it true, ZYCIE WARSZAWY asked the head of Polish diplomacy, that a Polish-Czechoslovak confederation will be created?

Minister Skubiszewski replied: The reality of this project depends on the determination and the will to achieve agreement, and the concerted actions of both countries. The present state of our relations with Czechoslovakia is unsatisfactory. They have to be put in order. Then we shall create premises for real thinking about a possible confederation.

Representatives of GDR Opposition Groups Visit

Delegation Arrives

LD0301144290 Hamburg DPA in German 1404 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw (DPA)—A group of representatives of opposition groups in the GDR arrived in Warsaw today. The visitors have been invited by the Solidarity parliamentary party group. They include Baerbel Boley, founder of the "New Forum", and other Forum members, as well as representatives of the movements "Democracy Now" and "Democratic Awakening". The GDR opposition representatives hope to hold talks with politicians in Warsaw, and will meet Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa in Gdansk on Thursday.

One of their most important negotiating partners is Solidarity Party Group Chairman Bronislaw Geremek. On several occasions he has stressed publicly that the Germans have a right to self-determination, but that in the case of a possible reunification our neighbors, too, should have a say, and, above all, there should be no uncertainty about the borders. The democratization in the GDR is welcomed in Poland, but emerging nationalistic strains are being observed with some concern.

Visits Warsaw

LD0301220790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2017 GMT 3 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw (ADN)—Representatives of parties and independent groups of the GDR arrived in Warsaw today. They have been invited by the Solidarnosc groups in the Sejm and Senate. It was reported that the aim of the visit is to further mutual acquaintance and the exchange of experiences. Possible areas of cooperation are also to be explored. The representatives of Democracy Now, Democratic Awakening, New Forum, SDP [Social Democratic Party] and Peace and Human Rights were received for a talk by the Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki this evening.

Tomorrow a visit to Gdansk is on the agenda and, among other things, a talk with the chairman of Solidarnosc, Lech Walesa. Before their return on Friday to the GDR.

Meets With Walesa

LD0401212690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1637 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Excerpt] Warsaw (ADN)—Solidarity Chairman Lech Walesa today met representatives of four opposition groups from the GDR in Gdansk. As was said, Walesa called for calm in view of the pace of developments in Eastern Europe. Economic reforms are now more important than political victory. The former might lead to too much discontent among the population if they gain the impression that things are actually better under the communists. The guests from the GDR repeatedly stated that for them Poland's western border on the Oder and Neisse is not up for discussion. From the political point of view, there are no reservations about a peace treaty. [passage omitted]

Walesa Advises Group

LD0401212590 Warsaw PAP in English 1940 GMT 4 Jan 90

[Text] Gdansk, Jan 4—"Do not fall into euphoria, for a new order is not built at a rally and not only through the change of the government," said Lech Walesa during today's meeting with a delegation of GDR independent milieus, adding that "we wish to build one Europe for our children and this demands economic transformations—as of now only Poland started these transformations with reason, wisdom and consideration."

The GDR delegation, led by Jens Reich of the "New Forum", was composed of representatives of "Democracy Now", "SDP", "Democratic Turning-Point", "Peace and Human Rights" groups.

As for Poland's western border, both sides expressed a joint opinion that it should not divide the two nations,

but favour economic integration. Boundaries are inviolable, but in a new Europe they will become a matter of second importance as is the case in the EEC states, stressed Walesa.

The GDR guests were interested in Walesa's opinions on transformations taking place in Poland and in the remaining Warsaw Treaty states. Walesa warned, among other things, against the threat of appearing of new political monopolies, referring to the example of Poland and, in his opinion, growing threat of Solidarnosc monopoly. "I am an advocate of political, economic and social pluralism," said Walesa.

Assessing the situation in Eastern Europe Walesa warned: "Do not be overwhelmed by the victory and the driving out of communists. There is a need for cadres and programmes, and there is a lack of such in your country as well as in Czechoslovakia. Without economic changes, there will be no effects awaited by societies. Only equal level of economies between the East and the West may lead towards European integration and the elimination of political differences."

Delegation Meets Senators

LD0501143990 Warsaw PAP in English
1333 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 5—A GDR delegation of independent political groupings met with Senate Vice-Speaker Andrzej Wielowieyski, senators from the Foreign Affairs Committee and staffers of the Centre for International Studies at the Senate at the end of their stay in Poland today.

The delegation was composed of representatives of such organizations as the "New Forum," "Democracy Now," "Democratic Break-through," "Peace and Human Rights" and the Social-Democratic Party.

"Our visit to Poland has been of exceptional importance. We can see that there is a striving in Poland for maintaining close contacts with democratic forces currently being formed in the GDR. We have come to understand each other very quickly," said Ludwig Mehlhorn of "Democracy Now."

"The Polish side voiced fears related to the issue of reunification of Germany. There is a fairly strong current striving for reunification in the GDR. It is not nationalistically but economically motivated. Many GDR citizens are under impression of much higher living standards in the FRG and come to the conclusion that they cannot achieve such standards all by themselves. Hence the striving for reunification. In our opinion, the German issue should be solved in all-European frames without violating Europe's stability," Edelgert Richter, the "Democratic Break-through," said.

'Good Neighborhood' Society With GDR Created

LD0501163490 Warsaw PAP in English
1546 GMT 5 Jan 90

[By PAP correspondent Jerzy Hernik]

[Text]) Berlin, Jan 5 (PAP)—Preparations for setting up a "Society for Good Neighbourhood Between the GDR and Republic of Poland" are underway. An initiative group, which is to carry out the whole organizational work, was created today. The official formation of the society is planned for the end of April this year.

The new organization intends to join the struggle against neo-Nazism and hostility against foreigners. The society's statute unequivocally stands for inviolability of the border on the Odra and Nysa Luzycka rivers and is for comprehensive contacts with Poland.

Jaruzelski Receives U.S. Congressmen 9 Jan

LD0901223390 Warsaw PAP in English
2116 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 9—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today a delegation of the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress on an information mission to Poland. The delegation is headed by John Lafalce, a Democrat from the state of New York.

The American guests acquainted the president with activities taken by the U.S. Congress to speed up the realization of programmes aimed to foster the process of economic changes in Poland.

The transformations in the functioning of the Warsaw Treaty and Poland's role in the organization were the subject of talks held by the visiting U.S. congressmen with Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski.

Mazowiecki Returns From Sofia CEMA Meeting

LD1001234290 Warsaw PAP in English
2312 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 10—Headed by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, the Polish delegation to the 45th CMEA session, which ended in Sofia today, returned home tonight.

EEC-Poland Agriculture Fund To Be Launched

AU0901180190 Paris AFP in English
1739 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Brussels, Jan 9 (AFP)—The European Economic Community and Poland will formally launch a 132-million-dollar fund Thursday [11 January] to help modernise Polish agriculture, a senior official at the EEC's executive Commission said Tuesday.

The Commissioner in charge of agriculture, Ray MacSharry, will take part in the first meeting of the fund during a visit to Warsaw, the official said.

The fund's resources of 110 million European Currency Units (ECUs) (132 million dollars) have been derived from the sale of EEC emergency food supplies on the Polish market since August.

Mr MacSharry will also hold talks with the Polish Government over a proposed second tranche of food aid that could be worth 200 million ECUs (240 million dollars), the official said.

The talks will also enable the Community to fine-tune its assistance to Poland, which began after the G-7 western summit in Paris last July.

Polish diplomats say the public would prefer more meat and butter instead of the olive oil and citrus fruit that has been shipped under the emergency programme.

Finance Minister Comments on 'Balcerowicz Program'

PM0801114590 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 2 Dec 89 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Deputy Premier and Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz by POLITYKA correspondents Jerzy Baczynski and Pawel Tarnowski—date and place not given]

[Text] POLITYKA: Mr. Premier, a recent questionnaire carried by POLITYKA after the publication of the government economic program produced replies from a number of eminent economists of different political orientations. They shared with us quite a few reservations and critical comments on that program. Before we ask you, in turn, to comment on at least some of the charges, we would like to hear about your general reaction to criticism from your fellow economists. At the Polish Economic Society congress in Lodz you said that criticism ought to be constructive. This kind of invocation has very unfortunate associations in this country.

Leszek Balcerowicz: I did not, in fact, mention constructive criticism. I spoke of objective criticism.

POLITYKA: What kind of criticism is that?

Leszek Balcerowicz: The idea is not to confine ourselves to making generalized magical incantations and more or less apt literary metaphors. I expect to see a discussion on hard facts.

POLITYKA: We conclude from this that the comments and analyses of the government economic program have not made any serious changes in your views or your conviction of the correctness of your chosen course.

Leszek Balcerowicz: The majority of our critics drew our attention to dangers of which we were perfectly aware ourselves when preparing the program. It was at the same time symptomatic that questions concerning institutional or system-related aspects of the program provoked less controversy than the proposed scheme for overcoming inflation.

POLITYKA: But there is one common undercurrent to all these critical appraisals, which could be associated with the method in which the program was announced or, perhaps, with your personal attitude. Many people with whom we discussed this issue have formed the impression that you are less interested in the public reception of the program and more in its potential effectiveness. Your reputation is that of a brilliant specialist, but one who is just that bit too cool and insensitive to public feelings. Your mission is to repair the economy; it is up to others to do the persuading, to calm people's feelings, and to orchestrate public support for your program. Do you agree with this assessment?

Leszek Balcerowicz: If this is how people see me, I certainly did not set out to create this impression. It was simply impossible to combine the role of creator of the economic reform program with that of its marketing representative. It was just a question of a lack of time. After all, the most important thing was to have the program at all. Its first outline took shape within a fortnight. We needed to elaborate a programmatic memorandum before our Washington visit. We were still amending it out there during the visit. Over the following 2 weeks we had to prepare the program for its first presentation to the Polish public, and before that we still had to sort out a large number of highly complex questions such as the hard currency exchange rates, the taxation system, or the anti-inflation measures. Apart from that, we had already twice submitted our budget proposals to the Sejm, and you must bear in mind that under normal circumstances it takes several months to prepare such proposals. We work under tremendous time pressures, and you must remember that in addition to all this we must still find the time to receive a variety of foreign missions and delegations of which there is practically an unending stream these days. So I hope you will appreciate that it is simply physically impossible for me to cram everything that I am expected to do into a schedule that is tight enough as it is.

POLITYKA: All the same, you can still congratulate yourself on the fact that, according to opinion surveys, the government program enjoys widespread public support. However, we wonder if this is not due to the fact that, to tell the truth, the implementation of your program has not begun in earnest yet, and people do not quite realize what is really awaiting them round the corner. Could you tell us what economic symptoms we should be watching for signals that at last we are progressing from words to deeds?

Leszek Balcerowicz: As announced, the crucial stage of the implementation of our program will begin with the new year. I am thinking here first and foremost of the war we plan to wage on inflation. With inflation running as high as it is in Poland at the moment, it is not possible to emerge from it gradually. We can either decide that we will live with it, which would mean, among other things, universal wage indexation and great difficulties with the basic remodeling of the system, or that we will deal with

it in drastic steps, thereby agreeing to certain sacrifices—which we would not have avoided with the first option either, in any case.

POLITYKA: But what sacrifices? We keep talking in general terms about bankruptcies, unemployment, and decreased consumption. Can we specify in concrete terms what we will have to cope with during, say, the next 6 months?

Leszek Balcerowicz: We do not expect any drastic decrease in consumption—certainly not in comparison with what would occur if we continued to procrastinate. So why do we insist that our program for economic recovery is going to be hard? Well, the first indication that its implementation has started—and that is what you were asking about—will be a shortage of funds in enterprises, and this is something few people are willing to believe at the moment. Certain enterprises will soon have to face the necessity of cutting their costs and keeping wages low, and possibly they will even have to consider the prospect of bankruptcy. No one has yet managed to do away with inflation without having to turn off the money taps.

POLITYKA: Or with maintaining full employment. What levels of unemployment should we expect to see?

Leszek Balcerowicz: It is very difficult to produce precise numbers here. We cannot base our predictions on econometric models because we are just now in the process of moving from one economic system to another. At the most we could base our speculations partly on other countries' experience, partly on intuition, and partly on initial estimates. This prompts me to conclude that we should attempt to avoid high levels of unemployment, although it is to be expected that a certain level of unemployment will in fact occur, and this will affect the situation in our labor market.

I said that the first indication that the program is being implemented would be a shortage of funds in enterprises. The next signal will be a widespread sense of impoverishment among the population, affecting especially the groups which for the moment are having more trouble with finding goods to buy than with finding the money to buy things with. An important element of our economic program is the abolition of the majority of the accustomed forms of administrative price controls combined with a ban on wage increases geared to the rate of price increases. This is because it is impossible to establish a correct price structure without freeing prices first, and if we fail to establish a correct price structure, then enterprises' financial results cannot constitute a true measure of their efficiency. This, in turn, would put the economic justification of enterprise insolvency into question.

As regards the principle that price increases should run ahead of wage increases, I should like to hasten to answer the anticipated objection that very many people already have too little money to live on. I agree. However, on a nationwide scale we have not yet experienced a serious and generalized monetary scarcity. Now this situation will change. Many people can expect to realize that they can no longer afford to live as they used to and that they will have to reduce consumption. This is why we are preparing a parallel program of targeted social welfare assistance to be able to intervene in those areas where it will become necessary.

POLITYKA: And in this way you have provoked the most frequent objection quoted nowadays in response to the "Balcerowicz program." The point is that you have made the battle against inflation—waged chiefly by means of restricting demand—the crucial element of the first stage of your program, that is, the stabilization stage. People comment that the government has evidently forgotten that inflation can also be fought by means of increasing the supply of goods. And, to make matters worse, you agree—among other things, by allowing the possibility of accidental bankruptcies—to an even greater decline in production and, consequently, to a shrinking of the economy.

Leszek Balcerowicz: Those who criticize the option of a rapid emergence from inflation should either admit openly that they are in favor of maintaining inflation for a long time to come or prove that Poland is capable of doing something that no other country in the world has managed before: moving away from a high rate of inflation in a smooth, painless, and gradual operation.

If we decided to tolerate inflation now, perhaps we would be able to slow down the rate of production decline slightly within a short time, but this would only mean that we would find it the more difficult to cut down inflation later and thereby create sound foundations for rational economic management that would also involve increased supply. This would be a consequence of the setting in of the so-called inflation mentality, as demonstrated by the experience of many Latin American countries. Despite the introduction of drastic and even, at times, desperate measures, inflation would always grow again there, fueled by the accustomed reactions and expectations of the population.

Moreover, we should remember that if we were to opt for tolerating inflation, our chances of obtaining any substantial foreign assistance would be very considerably reduced. In this matter our foreign partners' position is perfectly unequivocal.

POLITYKA: But now the onus of proving that the government anti-inflation program will be effective falls squarely on your shoulders. The previous government teams also tried to stem inflation, but it always ended in further price increases. How is your program different from the past price and wage operations whose results we know only too well? After all, your program also contains such powerful inflation-inducing factors as an increase in energy prices, a uniform currency rate, or the curtailing of budget subsidies...

Leszek Balcerowicz: We consider the tough budget and monetary policy to be the essential element of our anti-inflation program. This policy is designed to stem

price increases by keeping excessive consumption demands in check. In the past it was hard to apply these checks, for political as well as other reasons. Your analysis is correct: The first stage of our program will provide for so-called corrective inflation. This involves adjusting the prices of basic raw materials, introducing uniform currency exchange rates, and so on. But this operation is to be accompanied by the above-mentioned monetary restraints. If we do not introduce these, we will see a repetition of old and familiar scenarios.

POLITYKA: Nonetheless, we would like to turn back to the objection we cited earlier: That the government has concentrated its attention on combating inflation to such an extent that it has relegated the issue of increasing the supply of goods to a place of considerably lesser importance. You could form the impression that the whole sphere of economic policy involving operations designed to counteract the decline in production is not at all important. We are concentrating our attention on the main objective but at the same time leaving the sphere of production unattended.

Leszek Balcerowicz: The difficulty here lies in the fact that the proposals recommending so-called supply-side operations are usually very vague: "It would be desirable to stem the decline in production and even more desirable to somehow stimulate its growth and the government should be doing something about it..." On those occasions when attempts are made to put forward more specific suggestions, we hear the usual demands for the government to prop up production by pouring money into it and easing wage and tax restrictions. All this has been tried before, with negative results, since in this way the government enters into mass negotiations with enterprises in which it is the weaker side owing to its informational handicap. In the second place, those who advocate such interventionism should admit right away that they do not care about combating inflation. Besides, they should demonstrate that such selective support for the chosen spheres of the economy is indeed effective.

The second type of operations that is usually recommended—albeit not always directly—by the supply-side lobbyists is the application of "manual controls" in production, which has also been proved ineffective over the many decades during which such practice was the order of the day.

POLITYKA: But, Mr. Premier, the government could be forced to resort to such methods, resurrected from the arsenal of old methods. If the power industry collapses, if the medicine manufacturing industry goes bankrupt, if enterprises controlled by local authorities become insolvent one after another, what will the government do then?

Leszek Balcerowicz: But who is to say that we should just look on and do nothing? At the moment the main reason for our problems with the decline in production is the lack of imported raw material and components. This is why already in the first few weeks of this government's work we began making necessary arrangements to secure additional hard currency funds for the economy. We also recognize the need for intervention in the food market, but not by a return to administrative methods of adjusting prices: It must be done by reaching into the food reserves and stocks which we are now trying to build up with the help, among other things, of foreign aid. The next question is that of enterprise insolvency. We will try to prevent an uncontrollable flood of bankruptcies here. We are aware of the difficulties faced by enterprises and we intend to apply a certain selection method which will sort out enterprises threatened by bankruptcy into two categories: those which do not deserve support in the light of economic criteria and those which can be offered some interim assistance against, say, the security of an agreed proportion of their assets and on the condition that they will realize an agreed program of reform. On the other hand, we will not go back to the system of direct state control or wholesale tax allowances, which are, after all, tantamount to concealed subsidies.

POLITYKA: To what extent does foreign aid reduce the risks involved in the implementation of the government program? How much protection can it offer us against its painful consequences?

Leszek Balcerowicz: Let me first remind you what kind of help we are talking about here. First, there is the generally free food aid, channeled directly into improving the current market supply situation. Then there will be the IMF credits—provided the IMF approves our adjustment program. After an agreement with the IMF is reached, we can count on approximately $1 billion worth of stabilization loan from Western countries, which should help reduce the risk of introducing a uniform and stable hard currency exchange rate system. This loan is not designed for direct consumption...

POLITYKA: When will we introduce full internal convertibility of the zloty?

Leszek Balcerowicz: We assume that this will be possible from the beginning of next year, provided we can secure the necessary financial guarantees for such an operation.

POLITYKA: Are you pleased on the whole with the foreign economic assistance received to date?

Leszek Balcerowicz: There is no doubt that it could have been more extensive. There is a considerable disparity between the declarations and the actual help which has materialized. But if we consider all the possibilities, the results to date are not too bad.

POLITYKA: There are some who claim that we have already received as much as $10 billion according to their calculations, while others say that they have only traced several hundred million.

Leszek Balcerowicz: This is because everyone is counting according to a different formula. If you take into account

credit guarantees, debt remission, and the official declarations, then the amount calculated does indeed go up.

POLITYKA: You have said that the extent of foreign assistance we receive is conditional on our agreement with the IMF. But the IMF has had no experience to date in in dealings with "postsocialist" countries. Its accepted formulas may not be applicable to our reality. Should we not demand to be treated on different terms?

Leszek Balcerowicz: If we decide that we will not tolerate inflation, then there are a number of routine packages of measures which are also applicable to our reality, such as, for example, reduction of budget deficit and budgetary expenditure; reduction of credits; introduction of real interest rate; and curbs on pay rises accompanied by accelerated—albeit only temporarily—price increases. This last point, incidentally, causes us the biggest problems because the difference between Poland and other countries which applied the IMF measures is the greatest in these matters, if only because in Poland we have virtually no employers in the accepted sense of the word. Elsewhere they were at least able to arrive at effective agreements between employers, employees, and the government in the matter of wage restrictions.

POLITYKA: Does this mean that in our circumstances we have to abandon all hope of arriving at such a social contract at all? Can we not all arrive on some solidarity-based compact?

Leszek Balcerowicz: There is an urgent need for such an agreement and we will strive for it. But in addition we also need concrete economic mechanisms and sanctions which would effectively stem wage increases.

POLITYKA: Not everybody agrees with you about this.

Leszek Balcerowicz: I know that some liberals, or at least people who regard themselves as liberals, have been arguing that we should allow both unrestricted price and wage increases. If an enterprise has to pay too much, it will simply go bankrupt. But this scenario is even more risky than the one which assumes the application of wage-curb mechanisms. This is because the former option would necessarily result in a much greater number of bankruptcies than the latter. In any case, all countries which have attempted to eliminate the problem of high inflation have always had to resort to some form of wage blocking.

POLITYKA: Mr. Premier, would you agree with the argument that it is precisely this issue—how to find an effective method of checking wage increases—that will be crucial for the ultimate success of your economic stabilization program?

Leszek Balcerowicz: This issue is both crucial and the hardest to tackle, though I must add that the questions of reducing the budget deficit and introducing a tough credit policy will also be of key significance.

POLITYKA: Now that we have clarified the question of what will decide the success of the first stage of your program, that is, the stabilization phase, let us tackle the second stage: the stage of institutional and structural changes. We could ask many questions here concerning privatization, demonopolization, foreign capital, and so on. Instead, would you please tell us what is the ultimate aim of all these transformations? What type of market economy will eventually emerge after all the changes have been made?

Leszek Balcerowicz: Fortunately, because of political considerations, we have a much wider choice today when it comes to reshaping our fundamental economic and institutional structures than we had in the years 1980-1981. In those days most of us opted for a self-managing market economy model...

POLITYKA: As indeed you did too...

Leszek Balcerowicz: Yes, I did. When, back in 1978, I sat down with my colleagues to work out an acceptable and desirable future model for the Polish economy we had to reject certain solutions as unrealistic: Poland's withdrawal from CEMA, a change in the structure of ownership relations, and so on. The solution of a self-managing market economy was doubtless more efficient than the old model, though we did realize even then that it was inferior to that of a privatized market economy. This is why today, when at last we have the freedom of choice, we are reaching for models that have been empirically and historically tried, tested, and proven—that is, to the West European model of market economy.

POLITYKA: What about the so-called third way?

Leszek Balcerowicz: It is not theoretically impossible that a third, economically viable option could be found. However, it had better be tried and tested in practice by countries more prosperous than we are.

POLITYKA: And so we are committed to carrying out a privatization of our economy in conditions of ultrahigh inflation. Or, as some would have it, we will sell off our national assets for next to nothing.

Leszek Balcerowicz: But this is precisely why we want to control inflation as soon as possible! The accusation which you just quoted confirms the correctness of our decision. And as concerns the sequence of the proposed changes... This has not yet been worked out in precise detail, but we know that the most urgent priority will be to demonopolize the economy—not only via the introduction of a parliamentary antimonopoly act but also by means of certain administrative decisions (the meat industry; the Cukropol sugar concern; dismantling cooperative associations; reform of the coal mining industry; and demonopolization of the domestic commerce system). At the same time we must begin to introduce the privatization campaign and a reform of the tax system.

Incidentally, when I began my work in the Finance Ministry, I believed that we would be able to introduce two major tax schemes by the end of 1991: the personal income tax and the value added tax. Now I can see that

it will probably take much longer (at least as regards one of these schemes) because we will need to create virtually from scratch a whole technical and operational network for collecting these taxes. Other countries have needed several years or more to introduce tax reforms on a much more restricted scale. The next question to tackle is the budget reform. As early as 1990 we will separate the budget from the virtually automatic credits from the Polish National Bank.

POLITYKA: Will this mean Deputy Premier Balcerowicz opposing Minister Balcerowicz, then?

Leszek Balcerowicz: It will. We must progress to a system in which any budget deficit will be financed from ordinary loans or securities.

POLITYKA: Do you borrow elements of some real-life models operating in other countries as you develop your blueprint for Poland's future economic system?

Leszek Balcerowicz: No, I rather tend to base my plans on the collective experience of Western countries. And this indicates, among other things, that if we do not want an economy similar to that operating in many Third World countries, we must opt for an open economy which rejects the strategy of subsidizing imports. Privatization alone will not be enough. And all discussion on such questions as, for example, the range and extent of future social welfare benefits can be put off until some later date. We have a long way to go before debates on whether we would be happier with the Swedish or the U.S. model begin to make sense.

POLITYKA: Mr. Premier, since we will not be able to cover all possible subjects, let us ask you one last question: How do you feel in your new role?

Leszek Balcerowicz: Well, as regards my life-style, I get up before 0700 hours in the morning, take my children to the kindergarten, and start work at 0800 hours, usually at my Finance Ministry office. I try to be back home no later than 2200 hours. I was not taken aback by the type of work or the work load involved. Any sensible man who accepts an appointment to this kind of office must be prepared for it (although you could say that no sensible man would accept an appointment to this kind of office in our highly unusual times). But I did accept it because I felt that an enormous opportunity was unfolding before us.

POLITYKA: And have the first months in office not robbed you of this optimism?

Leszek Balcerowicz: Nothing has happened to make me change my mind. On the other hand, I have already experienced the difficulties that I had expected to encounter: first and foremost the continual race against time and, next, the sheer impossibility of satisfying all expectations, however justified. In our situation there are no ideal, painless, and uncontroversial solutions. There is, on the other hand, the vast task which we must carry out.

POLITYKA: Thank you for talking to us. May we wish you—and ourselves—the successful implementation of the "Balcerowicz program."

Military Service To Be Reduced 'This Year'

LD1001232690 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Already this year—rather than next, as previously planned—military service will be reduced to 18 months. This was reported by General Antoni Jasinski, deputy national defense minister, at a session of the Sejm National Defense Commission which examined the portion of the government budget bill for this year concerning the Ministry of National Defense.

Czestochowa Airport Reverts to Civilian Use

LD1001192390 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] The military authorities have agreed to a change in the status of the airport of Czestochowa to a civilian and transport one.

Streetcar Operators in Bucharest Stage Strike

AU1001195390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1836 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Strike"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/1/1990—In the morning of Wednesday 10 January, 103 tramways on six of Bucharest's lines did not leave the Militari Depot when drivers refused to start work in protest to the passengers' hostility and molestation of some of the drivers.

The spokesman for the Bucharest Transport Company told us that the passengers' justified indignation ended up in many blamable acts against the drivers, as the passengers were unable to grasp the fact that the far too large intervals between buses, tramways, trains, and their too small number are a result of unreasonably deep cuts made in the dictator's time. Besides, the drivers resent the very hard conditions they work in, their low pay and the fact that they were not given the opportunity to state their grievances, to show how serious the problems of public transport in Bucharest are, and to call on the public to understand the situation and stay calm.

Much the same thing happened at Bucharest's Ion Sulea depot where the drivers on two tramway lines did not start work.

The management of the enterprise and Bucharest City councilors are talking with the workers to persuade them to get back to work.

Securitate Gen Neagoe To Be Tried

AU1001153090 Paris AFP in English 1502 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Jan 10 (AFP)—The chief bodyguard of the late Romanian president Nicolae Ceausescu, General Marin Neagoe, will go on trial soon, reliable sources said here Wednesday.

General Neagoe's arrest had not previously been announced, but the sources said he would be put on trial "within days".

The same sources said that the new authorities in Romania would wait, however, before opening political trials where Mr. Ceausescu's son Nicu is to appear. [passage omitted]

General Neagoe would be the highest-ranking member of the Securitate secret police force put on trial so far.

Three lower-ranking Securitate officers were sentenced earlier this week to terms ranging up to 12 and a half years for acts of "terrorism".

They were sentenced in Sibiu, central Romania, the city where Nicu Ceausescu held sway until his parents' downfall.

Observers here said the trials of Securitate men were apparently designed to encourage other members of the force to surrender, while the authorities wanted more time to prepare political trials.

NSF To Hold Roundtable Talks 'Next Week'

AU1001152490 Paris AFP in English 1447 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 10 (AFP)—The Council of the National Salvation Front, Romania's interim government, has agreed to hold roundtable talks with representatives of all the country's newly legalised political parties here next week, informed sources said Wednesday. No exact date has been set for the talks, which will focus on a new electoral law, the sources said.

President Iliescu Speaks on Revolution, Communism

PM1101113290 Paris LE FIGARO MAGAZINE in French 6 Jan 90 p 48

[Interview with Ion Iliescu, president of the Council of the National Salvation Front by Victor Loupan in Bucharest—date not given]

[Text] [LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] Sir, nobody really saw the Securitate forces which the Army fought....

[Iliescu] It was not a battle between two equal forces. We did not fight the Securitate forces, but the few units intended for the tyrant's close protection. They were extremely well trained and well armed killers.

[LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] Initially, the Western press announced some 80,000 fighters on the Securitate side. That figure now seems to have been greatly overestimated. Exactly how many were there?

[Iliescu] According to some assessments, there were originally around 1,000 men. There are now few left. Many were killed and approximately 100 were arrested. We know that those troops were prepared for that kind of action. Otherwise, the rest of the Securitate cooperated with the Army and the revolution.

[LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] Is that why you did not actually disband it?

[Iliescu] Of course...I mean no. We have disbanded it: The Securitate troops are now part of the Army. The Securitate will, therefore, no longer be an apparatus for repressing the masses, but a force for protecting the nation.

[LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] Sir, with reference to Timisoara, do you maintain the figure of 12,000 people killed?

[Iliescu] No. That figure was never put forward.

[LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] The bodies which we were shown were much too "old..."

[Iliescu] That is possible.

[LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] Do you also agree that the figure of 60,000 people killed in all of Romania is impossible?

[Iliescu] That figure is clearly much too high. People probably also included the injured when calculating it. Frankly, we have not yet had the time to bother with such calculations.

[LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] It is rumored that you are Gorbachev's man. Is that true? Was the people's uprising taken over by Gorbachev supporters in Romania and by the Army?

[Iliescu] Such an approach smacks of politicking. The people's uprising was just that, a people's uprising. I must also warn you that Ceausescu must not be identified with the former Romanian Communist Party [RCP]. The tyrant destroyed the country and also the party. He compromised it in the people's eyes. The suffering was general, it also affected the four million Communists. The idea of the National Salvation Front [NSF] is unique to Romania. That is why, when you talk of Gorbachev...

[LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] You have not answered my question: Are you Gorbachev's man?

[Iliescu] I do not understand your question. I have never met Gorbachev. I totally deny the rumor that we went to school together. I studied at the Hydroelectric Power Institute and he studied at the university law faculty. I never had any contact with Gorbachev later either. I did not seize power. When I addressed the crowd, the whole square cheered me warmly. There was no disguised putsch, the theory of a putsch is Ceausescu's theory.

[LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] Are you still a Communist?

[Iliescu] I believe in the values of communism which are values steeped in European humanism.

[LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] In the April elections, the Communists will certainly lose. Will you resign?

[Iliescu] The Communist Party may or may not run in the elections. I represent the NSF. The RCP and the NSF have nothing in common.

[LE FIGARO MAGAZINE] That is a contradiction, because you are a Communist!

[Iliescu] I have received a mandate from the people and I do not wish to identiy with any political faction. Moreover, I have not been a member of the RCP leadership for a long time. I represent the NSF and its broad ideas of people's unity. Unfortunately, the RCP is guilty in the people's eyes. It did not overthrow the dictator, it was the NSF which did so. And I give my life to its ideals.

National Economy Minister Stanculescu Interviewed

AU0501174590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1414 GMT 5 Jan 90

["The Romanian Minister of the National Economy on the Need To Stabilize and Liberalize the Economy"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—In an interview with "ROMANIA LIBERA," published in its 5 January issue, the Romanian minister of the national economy, Lieutenant General Victor Stanculescu referred to the real situation of the national economy specifying that, in comparison with the 3 December reports of the former regime on the fulfilment of the plan for eleven months, the industrial production was worth 93 billion lei less, the convertible currency-based export 392 million dollars less and the clearing- based export with socialist countries 203 million rubles less. As for the state reserves, they were massively attacked and uncompleted on term, which brought about quite a special situation.

Approaching questions related to export, Victor Stanculescu showed that Romania's foreign partners agreed to replace foodstuffs exports with industrial commodities which are to be jointly identified.

In the future, the development strategy of the Romanian economy will be defined through other methods, beginning with the maintenance and consolidation of the most efficient sectors, the minister said adding: We shall give up the impossible ambition of producing "everything" in Romania. He mentioned that the ministry he manages started to work as a very supple organism which should interfere only in fundamental questions and only on the basis of dialogue and with the accord of the other ministries. In the immediately ensuing period, he said, we shall come with proposals apt to eliminate any obstacle, blockage in thinking, in the organization and unfolding of economic activities. Each branch, central department and enterprise will have more liberty in implementing their production and supply programmes.

In the economy, Victor Stanculescu further said, work will be done according to a programme which should contain a few indicators, realistically set, function of the existing resources so as they can be fulfilled by ministries, central departments and enterprises. [sentence as received]

Formulating a synthetic conclusion, the minister of the national economy said: We wish in the first quarter of this year to achieve the goals for a better living standard, and the ensurance of conditions for a decent life to all citizens, and to maintain the functionality of the national economy. After having the complete data of 1989 we shall work out a programme apt to meet the requirements for the restructuring of the national economy. Till we have achieved economic stability we

cannot pass on to a broad liberalization within which the opportuneness of the principles of a marked economy can also be discussed.

Stanculescu on Problems in Adopting Market Economy

AU0501152690 Paris AFP in English 1229 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 5 (AFP)—General Victor Stanculescu Romanian Minister of the National Economy has said that the economy is in such a bad state it could not cope with the immediate introduction of a market economy.

The harmful economic measures practiced under the dictatorship of Nicolae Ceausescu, executed last month, would be eliminated at a later date, he said.

An economic programme for 1990 would be announced once the new government had taken stock of the exact state of the economy, but he said that it was much worse than had been thought because the Ceausescu government had cheated with figures.

General Stanculescu, deputy defense minister for economic issues within the Army until the December 22 ouster of Mr. Ceausescu, said that industrial production for the first 11 months of last year was more than nine billion dollars less than the previous government had said.

The value of exports was some 329 billion dollars below the figures officially released, he added, but did not give the revised figures.

The new government has already accused the Ceausescu government of lying about other economic figures, including grain production.

The ADEVARUL daily, the former newspaper of the rebaptised Communist party, commented Friday that economic restructuring could not take place before the country became more stable.

According to the paper, Romanians must work hard to overcome current problems, rather than just depend on foreign aid.

Figures were greatly exaggerated to show essential goods and services were delivered efficiently to average Romanians who were actually suffering from food and energy shortages, General Stanculescu said.

The country's natural resources, including energy, are inadequate to supply the metallurgical, construction, chemical and petrochemical industries many of which were on too large a scale and unprofitable.

Foreign Minister Celac on Foreign Policy Goals

AU1001215190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2028 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Exclusive" Interview with Foreign Affairs Minister Sergiu Celac on the 24 Hours program in Bucharest—live]

[Text] [Announcer] Here follows and exclusive interview with the "24 Hours" program by Mr Sergiu Celac, minister of foreign affairs, who is a guest in our studio. We will discuss with him several problems of this vast and important field—Romania's foreign policy—a field which is also linked with the revolutionary process in our country and which is called upon to serve and facilitate the fulfillment of the revolution's basic goals. This is not an easy thing, given the fact that foreign policy was practically confiscated by the Ceausescu dictatorship, with nefarious consequences. Would you like to elaborate on this?

[Celac] I consider the use of the term "confiscated" very appropriate. According to normal procedure in international relations, the orientation and main guidelines of any country's foreign policy are laid down by the supreme power in the respective country, by the legitimately elected or appointed president of that country. I am glad that you used the word confiscation, because, in our case, this had nothing to do with the perogative of the head of state's position, but rather with the confiscation of the foreign policy, and not only simply by one person, but better said, for the personal use of an individual, or rather two persons, who usurped functions that belonged to the state.

The results were as follows: loss of real positions and interests at the international level by the Romanian state; chaos and upheaval in Romania's external relations; confusion in and reversal of certain priorities of major interest to the state; systematic demolition of the diplomatic apparatus, with profoundly nefarious consequences; and last but not least, a horrible press abroad for our Romania, something which had never happened before. I repeat, the international public opinion has always maintained their respect for the Romanians, as a people, regardless of their nationality. However, the Ceausescu clan managed to implant in the international public opinion an image which was not at all flattering or representative; in a word, an image which we do not deserve.

[Announcer] Toward what end will Romanian diplomacy progress? There are already several indications, after the first steps already made.

[Celac] To begin with, we are promoting a new opening in our overall international relations, with our neighbors, other European countries, and all states of the world. We wish, we can, and we are confident that we will shortly occupy a dignified place among the world's nations. We will resume our constructive traditional links, which we

want to continue, we will remove those artificial obstacles and restrictions, which an erroneous and, in certain respects, even criminal and anti-national policy, have hampered our former foreign policy. Last, but not least, we are engaged in radically restructuring the apparatus of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in order to turn it into an efficient and professional instrument of the policy elaborated by our political leadership, namely the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF].

I want to emphasize that we will not repeat past injustices and will not make arbitrary purges. We want to build an efficient apparatus of professionals, so that my successor, the future foreign minister of the government to emerge after the first free elections in Romania's recent history, will have a competent Ministry of Foreign Affairs, independent of political passions and parties, a ministry which is able to further promote the country's major interests.

[Announcer] Mr Celac, from initiatives todate, we realize that Romania is returning to Europe.

[Celac] Once more, I have to thank you for choosing an appropriate expression, although, this time I would like to qualify it. It is not a question of returning to Europe. We have always been here, we are and will stay here. The problem for us now and in the immediate future is to patch up our ties with all European states on new, constructive, and rational bases and to make a contribution—worthy of this people's intelligence and ability—to building the new, democratic, and modern structures of the future Europe.

[Announcer] We now conclude our interview with Romanian Foreign Minister Mr Sergiu Celac, whom we thank for his participation in the 24 Hours program.

Lupoi on Formation of National Salvation Front

PM0501082490 Paris LE FIGARO in French 3 Jan 90 p 4

[Interview with Major Mihai Lupoi, member of the Council of the National Salvation Front and minister of tourism, by Thierry Desjardins—date and place not given]

[Text] [LE FIGARO] You are a member of a government with a Communist majority. However, the people's uprising, which the Army has joined, demanded not only an end to the Ceausescu dictatorship but also an end to communism....

[Lupoi] Things must be clear: It is simply a government of technocrats responsible for dealing with issues provisionally until free elections are held. They alone will decide the country's future. The Army stood beside young Romanians to ensure the victory of the uprising against the dictatorship. But there is no question of the Army seizing power and Romania becoming a military dictatorship. It is true that we have kept some Communists, but it is because the interim government will not last long, and the Communists are the only people who know the job.

[LE FIGARO] General Guze has already been eliminated from the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF]. Is that not worrying?

[Lupoi] General Guze had made serious mistakes. And all the members of the military in the Front approved of his removal.

[LE FIGARO] But has the balance within the Front not been upset, to the benefit of the former Communist leadership members?

[Lupoi] It is true that the Front had been in the process of formation for a long time, but it was really formed on the barricades during the uprising against Ceausescu. All the political families which struggled against the dictatorship are represented in it, but they should not now express themselves within the Front or the government. General Stanculescu is minister of the national economy, not because he is a member of the military but because he is a good technocrat. I am an officer, I, therefore, do not engage in politics either. And the same is true of all the other members of the government or the Front.

[LE FIGARO] Are you not afraid that the Communists intend to seize power?

[Lupoi] The Communists in the Front have themselves launched an appeal to their members to rapidly hold an extraordinary party congress. This congress could well lead to the dissolution of the Communist Party in its present form and the creation of a new party which would naturally safeguard the communist heritage but would abandon all the negative aspects.

[LE FIGARO] What is this interim government's program?

[Lupoi] We have two objectives: First, to teach the Romanians what to do with freedom once again. They have forgotten what that word means. It had become a kind of myth, a dream. The Romanians must learn its meaning again. However, we only have a few months. Freedom must have become common practice once again before the elections. Second, and at the same time, we must rebuild the country's whole economy, so that the government which emerges from free elections will find a country which can function.

[LE FIGARO] Are you prepared to work with the West?

[Lupoi] With everybody. We also want to develop our relations with the USSR, but without any preconditions. On 22 December we appealed to Gorbachev and we asked him whether he was going to intervene to support Ceausescu. He told us that there was absolutely no question of that. We are naturally prepared to work and cooperate with East Europe. We are even taking the initiative.

Interior Minister Says Order Restored in Prison

AU1001194390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1840 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Order Reinstated at Jilava Prison"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/01/1990—In connection with the unrests at Jilava prison, near Bucharest, Colonel General Mihai Ghitac, minister of the interior, confirmed to a ROMPRES News Agency reporter that the troubles were caused by some common law convicts who did not benefit from the provisions of the amnesty and pardoning decree of the Council of the NSF [National Salvation Front]. The trouble was started by a group of 20 most dangerous convicts serving various terms for grave antisocial deeds, who managed to force other detainees to join them. The rebels armed with iron bars broke down the cell doors and barricaded themselves inside a room of the prison. They demanded that the decree provisions be extended to them as well, and that they be set free. At the same time, some of their families, gypsies most of them, gathered outside the prison demanding the setting free of the convicts. Warning fires were shot and water hoses were used to calm them down. No casualty reported.

Army units assumed position around the prison in the afternoon of January 9 and the soldiers took over also the guarding of the detainees.

The troubles slowed down the process of setting free the detainees entitled to benefit from the above-mentioned decree but they did not stop it. On January 10, for instance, over 100 such detainees were set free and the process continues. According to article 10 of the decree, every individual case is analyzed for release on "good conduct".

Colonel General Mihai Ghitac said then that the situation was restored to calm in the prison as a result of the steps taken with the aid of the Army and the detainees are back in their cells.

Court Examines Political Parties' Registration

AU1001190590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1824 GMT 10 Jan 90

["From the Bucharest City Court"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/1/1990—On January 8, the application was discussed of the Democratic and Christian National Peasant Party. A decision will be reached, according to the set procedure, on January 11.

On January 10, the application was discussed of the Ecological Movement of Romania.

On January 11, the applications of the Social Democratic Party of Romania and of the National Liberal Party will be discussed.

Decree-Law on Abrogation of Penal Regulations

AU1001212590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Decree-Law on abrogation and modification of certain regulations in the Penal Code and in the Code of Criminal Procedure.

Article 1. The name under Title 1 of the special part of the Penal Code is changed from "Offenses Against State Security" to "Offenses Against the State."

Article 2. The following regulations in the Penal Code are abrogated and remain abrogated: Article 164 on sabotage; Article 166, paragraph two on propaganda against the socialist system; Article 245 on illegal crossing of borders; and Article 251 on divulging secrets regarding public interests.

Likewise, the regulations under Article 206 in the Code of Criminal Procedure on the competence of the investigation bodies of Securitate are abrogated and remain abrogated.

Article 3. Entering or leaving the country by illegally crossing a border is an offense and will be punished by prison term from 15 to 30 days or with a fine of 1,000 to 5,000 lei.

Decree for Commemoration of Heroes of Revolution

AU1001184290 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0500 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Here are details of the decree on measures regarding the commemoration of the heroes of the revolution:

The Council of the NSF [National Salvation Front] decrees:

Article 1. The day of Friday, 12 January 1990 is declared throughout Romanian territory as a day of national mourning in memory of the martyrs of the revolution, of all those who sacrificed their lives fighting against the dictatorial regime for the freedom and dignity of the Romanian people, for social justice. Every Friday religious services will be held in all houses of prayer in memory of the martyrs of the revolution.

Article 2. The towns of Timisoara and Bucharest are declared martyr towns.

Article 3. The Palace Square in the capital where many sons of the homeland died defending the ideals of democracy, freedom and national dignity will henceforth be called Revolution Square.

Article 4. In the center of the martyr town of Timisoara as well as in Romana and Revolution Squares in the martyr town of Bucharest, monuments will be erected, devoted to the heroes of revolution, to all those who died in the name of revolution and for its ideals. A public

competition will be organized to draw up the plans for these monuments. Before a final decision is made, the most representative projects presented within the competition will be submitted to an assessment by the public.

Further on National Mourning Day

AU1001184590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] In connection with the decree of the Council of the National Salvation Front on declaring 12 January 1990 a day of national mourning throughout Romania's territory, the following steps will be taken:

All central and local state bodies and economic, social, cultural, education, and other units will fly the tricolor flag at half mast. Radio, television, cinemas, theaters, and musical institutions will modify their programs accordingly.

ROMPRES on Abrogation of Abortion Law

AU1001184790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1750 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Abrogation of an Absurd Law"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/01/1990—One of the first laws to be abrogated by the Council of the National Salvation Front was that of banning abortions (a law dating back to 1966). It was an absurd law whereby abortions were permitted only in the case of women already forty or of mothers of five children whom they supported. Its effects were dramatic, numerous women died or wrecked their health condition. The law was a gross attempt on women's liberty and dignity, with inquiring repressive bodies interfering in hospitals, obstetrics and gynecology wards and consultation rooms, in family life.

Late in 1989, Romania led the rest of Europe in regards to deaths as an outcome of abortion in Europe, an indicator that stood at zero in numerous countries. The most adversely affected age group was that in the 35-to-39-year bracket, more than 95 percent of the deaths were caused by illegal abortions, peformed in empirical conditions and followed by serious complications.

A true birthrate growth policy should rely on a standard of living, that is indeed high and not swollen by phoney figures, and not on orders and repression, said reputed physicians with the "Polizu" maternity house in Bucharest in an interview with the Romanian Weekly "REALITATEA".

Deputy Interior Minister Provides Crime Figures

AU1001192190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Colonel General Jean Moldovan on the State of Lawbreaking in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 10/01/1990—To watch over public order, to ensure public quiet, to give the citizens a sense of security, whatever the place or time they are in the street is one of the current concerns of the policy, Colonel General Jean Moldovan, first deputy minister of the interior and chief of the general policy inspectorate, told a ROMPRES editor who asked him to comment on lawbreaking in Romania and police actions to prevent and control it.

The police watch over public quiet and a normal course of life. There are settlements where the police continue to cooperate with the Ministry of National Defence units and patriotic guards to defend economic units and institutions.

To fight by all means the renewed outbreak of offences accompanied by violence in the past few days is another line of action. On 8 and 9 January, 36 offences were recorded as follows: three murders, five attempted murders, two robberies, seven thefts of public property, and seven of private property, one embezzlement, seven traffic accidents the toll of which was four dead and five wounded. The reasons for these serious offences were alcohol, retribution, and greediness.

Foreign aid has been more closely watched. The economic police supervise its reception, listing and distribution, closing up all loopholes.

The police are also represented on the commissions that make an inventory of the objects of great value found in the homes of the late dictators and in those of former high-ranking officials before they are handed over to specialized institutions.

A most important problem is that of urgently collecting the weapons from ex-officials or other persons who were given them in the days of the revolution.

The policy, Colonel General Moldovan said in conclusion are ridding themselves of the ideas and methods of investigations used by the former militia, their behaviour is civilized and their aim is to serve the citizens with whom they cooperate to efficiently control lawbreaking.

Details of Political Parties' Platforms, Programs

AU1001190990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1818 GMT 10 Jan 90

["The Political Parties in Romania"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/1/1990—Political parties and a number of public organizations are being organized in Romania. By virtue of the democratic principles governing the country after the December 1989 revolution, all patriotic, democratic forces are secured their right to freely express their stance on all political, social and economic problems in this country.

They have already announced their headquarters and their programmes in the press and on television. Noteworthy among them are the Democratic and Christian National Peasant Party and the Liberal Party—the strongest parties of the prewar period in Romania—as well as the Ecological Movement, the Magyar Democratic Union and others.

The programme of the National Peasant Party—which, unlike the older party, is also called Democratic and Christian—states for pluralist democracy, a state de jure with the strict observance of laws, a comeback to the market economy and the restoration of peasant property, a society characterized by the priority of the work of farmers and workers and providing conditions for the development of property set on work, the reorganization of education, the promotion of academic autonomy, national rebirth in the spirit of the Christian moral, the separation of powers in the state, free election of management bodies in all areas of society, equality of all nationalities and religious beliefs in the spirit of the proclamation of Alba Iulia of December 1, 1918.

Citizens in all social strata, including those who were members of the Communist Party—with the exception of individuals who held important offices in that party or committed abuses—are admitted to the party.

The Ecological Movement in Romania is, as its draft platform-programme shows, a broad trend of opinion and social action which is independent, democratic, pacifist and humanist in character. Noteworthy among the targets of the movement are: environmental protection, ecological administration of the territory, protection from any kind of pollution (of the air, soil and water, of culture and moral). Furthermore, it fights against the degradation and destruction of nature and of historical and cultural monuments, against the degradation of Romanian ethos, for the placing of man at the core of all activities. The movement also states against violence and intolerance, for the observance of human rights. It militates for a gradual and concomitant reduction of all weapons and armies until their complete elimination. It declares for a policy of total sincerity, of dialogue and consultation with the people on all major issues.

Peasants Party Proposes Young Heroes' Memorial

AU0701224390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 7 Jan 90

[Text] The Steering Committee of the Youth Organization of the National Peasant - Christian Democratic Party has set up a group named "Tragedy and Heroism," whose aim it is to erect in the Romana Square in Bucharest a monument to the memory of the young heroes—students, pupils, and workers—who fell in the struggle for the victory of Romanian democracy.

Hungarian Democratic Forum of Romania Meets

LD0901231490 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 2100 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Excerpt] The provisional executive committee of the Hungarian Democratic Federation of Romania has held its first session. They prepared the first national delegates' conference of the federation, which will be held this weekend in Tirgu Mures. [passage omitted]

Meeting of Orthodox Church Synod

AU0501222690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2123 GMT 5 Jan 90

["Meeting of the Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—Gathered in an extraordinary meeting on 3 and 4 January, the Holy Synod of the Romanian Orthodox Church expresses its joy at the victory of the revolution that has freed the people from Ceausescu's dreadful dictatorship which caused immense material and spiritual damage to our ancient church, shows the press release which also reads:

The Romanian Orthodox Church denounces the former dictatorship and reiterates its attachment to the programmes of the National Salvation Front [NSF] of spiritual reawakening and restoration of the country's social life.

The high ecclesiastical forum decided inter alia to take statutory measures to fill the vacant bishopric of Moldavia and Suceava, to dissolve the present deliberative and executive bodies in parishes, dioceses and ecclesiastic departments and elect new ones to the end of forming the Church Electoral Collegium, to revise the statute and rules of the Romanian Orthodox Church according to canonical principles and the current requirements of the church, to rebuild the demolished churches, build new ones in districts and settlements, wherever it is necessary; to teach religion to children, young people and adults; to revigorate the charitable activities of the church in hospitals, child and elderly people asylums, prisons, schools, military units etc.; to reorganize theological education—monastic, seminary and university—open to the clergy and to lay people, men and women; to intensify the missionary and cultural activities of the church, through the press, religious literature and materials, by co-opting "God's army" and other religious associations in these activities; to promote the reconciliation and union of the Romanians everywhere, the Romanian Orthodox Church expressing its gratitude to the Romanians everywhere who fought for the freedom of the oppressed Romanian people by all their means. The punishments passed by the dictatorship, against servants of the church on political grounds were annulled.

The Romanian Orthodox Church renews its relations with the churches and denominations in this country to the end of promoting national unity.

The Holy Synod decided to send a letter to churches and international Christian organizations asserting the furtherance and intensification of ecumenical cooperation on an international plane and expressing gratitude for the solidarity of churches all over the world and of international Christian organizations with the Romanian people.

Physicians Trade Union Established in Timis

AU1001204290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1852 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Medical Doctors' Trade Union"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/1/1990—The Free Trade Union of Medical Doctors of Timis County has been set up in Timis, which adheres to the free trade unions of the working people in Romania.

The program-platform of the new trade union stresses the necessity of undelayed working out of a new health care law with wide consultation of the medical personnel, that should settle the organization of health protection, the activity in this domain of vital importance for society and establish the medical personnel's rights and duties.

Measures are also suggested for the organization upon new bases of the specialty admission contest of medical doctors as well as of the contest for inter-county transfer, for the status of specialist doctors, general practitioners and dentists, as well as of the probationers, measures to enhance the competence of the medical personnel through periodical refreshing of knowledge, study and job contracts abroad, as well as measures for the reconsideration of the medical doctors' socioeconomic conditions.

Reestablishment of Institute of Physiology

AU0901151890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1247 GMT 9 Jan 90

["For the Re-establishment of the Institute of Physiology"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 9/1/1990—Despite the fact that the results of physiological research work directly serve medical practice contributing to raising its efficiency, the Institute of Physiology lost its identity in the early 1970s, owing to the "care" of Nicolae Ceausescu's regime, stated in an interview with the Bucharest weekly "Magazin" doctor Marcel Uluitu, former scientific secretary of the Institute of Physiology in Bucharest. He is author of more than 120 scientific works published at home and abroad.

Doctor Uluitu said the Institute of Physiology was, alongside the maternity "Filantropia", part of the Oncologic Institute. Now he suggests a few guidelines for the future development of the Romanian science and the reorganization of the Institute of Physiology: the improvement of the technical and material base, access to foreign publications, mutual interchanges of visits and activities of collaboration with foreign countries, participation in international scientific events, a complex, and thorough training of young researchers.

Ukrainians' Union of Free Romania Established

AU1001115790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0923 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 10/1/1990 —In a declaration on the Romanian television situation on January 9, Stefan Tkaciuc announced the setting up on December 28, 1989 of the Ukrainians' Union of Free Romania. The organization—the foundation act shows—sustains the program of the Council of the National Salvation Front and pledges to protect before Romania's legal authorities the Ukrainians' interests. It also plans to work, among other things, for the setting up of Ukrainian-language creches, kindergartens and schools in the localities where Ukrainians live, of theoretical high schools at Sighetul Marmatiei and Siret, to have publications in the mother-tongue and organize weekly radio and television programs, to have democratically elected representatives in various Romanian fora. The Ukrainians' Union of Romania declares that it wishes to keep close relations with the Ukrainians in Soviet Ukraine and all over the world.

FRG Association of Solidarity Established

AU0901165090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1601 GMT 9 Jan 90

["West German Association of Solidarity with the Romanian People"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/1/1990—Mr. Stefan Petrescu, a journalist, director of an Indepedent News Agency based in Frankfurt, has travelled to Bucharest in his capacity as the initiator of the Association of Free Romanians in the FRG whose members are German citizens of all political shades and religious beliefs who came from Romania.

The aim of the association is to help conserve the Romanian language as well as the lay and religious customs and traditions inside the Romanian communities in the territory of West Germany and to maintain a normal relationship with the native country. This association sets to support the reconstruction effort of democratic Romania in the economic, social, cultural and sports fields, to attract foreign investment in Romania, to develop the ties with tourist agencies and travel agents, etc.

The association will promote in the Romanian communities in West Germany solidarity with the Romanian people which needs aid and support more than at any other time. The Association of the Free Romanians in West Germany will initiate and encourage the formation of similar organizations elsewhere in the free world.

Romanian-Hispanic Society Founded in Bucharest

AU3112071689 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1318 GMT 30 Dec 89

["Setting Up of Romanian-Hispanic Society"—AGERPRES Headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 30/12/1989—A group of professors of Spanish language and literature (translators, researchers and book editors), including Darie Novaceanu, Marius Sela, Dan Munteanu, Andrei Ionescu, Cristina Izbasescu, Mihai Cantuniari, Alexandru Calciu, Paul Alexandru, Gheorghe Bala, and Sorin Marculescu re-established in Bucharest the Romanian-Hispanic Society, a cultural society the main target of which is to make known in Romania the Spanish and Spanish-American cultural values, as well as values of the Romanian spirituality in the Hispanic area.

Open to all those with preoccupations and concrete results in the Hispanic domain, the society pursues among other things the establishment of work contacts with similar associations in other countries.

Polish Deputy Visits Villages in Bukovina

LD1001152290 Warsaw PAP in English 1405 GMT 10 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan. 10—Deputy Jerzy Zurawiecki, now in Romania, visited Polish villages in Bukovina where he discussed forms of future assistance for their residents.

The visit showed that actions on the Polish side should be of a long-term character and focus on those spheres which would be conducive to raising living standards in the Polish enclave in Bukovina.

According to Zurawiecki Polish assistance should cover mainly health care, education and culture as well as supplies of manufacturer equipment for the villages.

Zurawiecki considered it an urgent issue to open a Polish consulate in Suchava.

Foreign Affairs Minister and member of the Council of the National Liberation Front Silviu Brucan, who had received Jerzy Zurawiecki, referred with great sympathy to the issue of the Polish minority in Romania.

Polish Deputy Interviewed

AU1001192390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1826 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Romanian-Polish Local Cooperation"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/1/1990—Mr Jerzy Zuraviecki, deputy of the "Solidarity" to the Seym, and Mr Roland Aleksandrowicz, secretary of the Polish Embassy in Bucharest, had an interview at the headquarters of the Suceava County Council of the NSF [National Salvation Front], where they informed local officials of the creation in Poland of an aid fund to help that county.

The idea was expressed of cooperation between Suceava County and an appointed Polish Voivodate, in line with the Romanian Government's declaration on the rights of national minorities. A proposal was advanced for the creation of schools with tuition in the mother tongue in the villages of Plesa, Poiana Micului and Solonet, where Polish population lives.

Official Visit of French Foreign Minister Dumas

Dumas Arrives

AU1001195090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1911 GMT 10 Jan 90

["Roland Dumas Arrives in Bucharest"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 10/1/1990—Roland Dumas, minister of foreign affairs of France, arrived in Bucharest on January 10 in the evening, on an official visit as guest of Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac.

The French chief diplomatist was welcomed at the Otopeni Airport by the Romanian foreign minister.

The French ambassador in Bucharest, Jean-Marie le Breton, was present.

The French foreign minister stated on arrival: I will tell you what my feelings were when I arrived here in the company of Henri Nallet, minister of agriculture and forests. First, feelings of admiration for what the Romanian people has done, knowing how to free itself of the dictatorship, and of compassion for the victims and their families. I would like to express the French people's solidarity with the Romanian people, the French Government's solidarity with the current Romanian government and to tell you that France, that has been on Romania's side since the very first day in this time of trial, is still with her in everything we can do together.

Dumas Meets With Celac

AU1101093990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0857 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Excerpts] Bucharest ROMPRES, 11/1/1990—Roland Dumas, minister of foreign affairs of France, arrived in Bucharest on January 10 in the evening, on an official visit as guest of Romanian Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac. [passage omitted]

Later in the evening Romania's Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac met with his French counterpart Roland Dumas at a working dinner at France's Embassy in Bucharest.

Leaders Begin Talks

AU1101094190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 11 Jan 90

[Text] This morning, Ion Iliescu, president of the National Salvation Front [NSF] received at the Palace in the Victory Square Rolan Dumas, French foreign minister, who is paying an official visit to Romania.

The talks are attended by Dumitru Mazilu, first deputy president of the Council of the NSF, Petre Roman, Romanian prime minister, and by Foreign Minister Sergiu Celac. Jean-Marie le Breton, the French ambassador in Bucharest is also present at the meeting.

ROMANIA LIBERA on Return to Moral Life

AU2712153989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1006 GMT 27 Dec 89

["The Romanian Culture Is Waiting for You"—an Article Printed by ROMANIA LIBERA Newspaper"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/12/1989—"The Romanian culture, just like the whole people, stands again the chance to be itself, to turn back to its true values so badly hit in the latest decades" writes Tia Serbanescu in the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA (one of the few which did not have to change its name now when Romania is free indeed).

"We had all witnessed the tragedy of our culture, all gifted people, strong-minded people who dared tell the truth, as far as it was possible, we had all witnessed the exodus of values, talents, creative intelligent people who could no longer endure the terror and imposture, the persecution, the falsification of the national culture and who were forced by this noxious climate to take refuge abroad where most of them supported the heroic resistance of the ones left at home who could do nothing else than resist, survive the cultural disaster".

"Today when the Bucharest sidewalks are full of blood, when the martyrs of the revolution cannot yet be counted and we need blood for transfusions, Tia Serbanescu writes, we also need blood for a moral transfusions well, we need all these faraway values, all the intelligence and Romanian talent scattered abroad, we need all [?the finest] people to help us be ourselves to help restoration of the Romanian culture, of its rights, its values, to help the revigoration of the country, to prevent the emergence of the false values which filled for so long the void they left. The Romanian culture needs this completion. All those abroad who suffered for the Romanian culture, for the Romanian people should understand us and come back here, to help Romania regain its genuine cultural values, its creative intelligence, its honesty and dignity, to present our heroic youth with the well deserved gift of genuine cultural models they can believe in".

"In this holy year, of the death centennial of the national poet, when the Romanian people became itself in a moment of divine inspiration we wait for you. The Eminescu centennial was also marked by this fantastic revolution, in the spirit of Eminescu. And the fact that the decisive step, the most difficult steps were made by the youth is a standing obligation for the renewed Romanian culture to turn to them", the writer concludes, herself one of the victims of Ceausescu's dictatorship.

Foreign Debts, Economic Situation Viewed

AU0901153190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Dec 89 p 4

[Gh. Cercelescu article: "Why Make Foreign Debts?"]

[Text] One of the points of accusation of the bloody tyrants of our people, Nicolae and Elena Ceausescu, is the undermining of the national economy, as the communique on their death sentence and execution also emphasizes. There are numerous means through which these tyrants, who assumed academic titles, pushed the Romanian people into this economic chasm, but, maybe, the most terrible one was running the country into debt, without any economic reason.

The problem is not the fact that at one point Romania had great debts. Any developing country may need foreign financial resources. Moreover, credits are a universal instrument to sustain and expand international economic exchanges.

What I refer to is the area of contracting loans and the reason for resorting to foreign financial resources. When the debts crisis broke out, our country had important industrial equipment, installations, and materials which no one needed. Many of them were degraded and covered with soil. What was their value? Approximately equal to that of the foreign debts—that is, some $12 billion! This is an abnormity which has never been noted by the history of the world economy. And this, because it is difficult to find a similar case in the world, namely a person who has invested himself with discretionary powers, but whose economic thinking is so primitive.

Yes, the foreign debt was due to gross incompetence coupled with the "ingenious ideas" (read demented) to turn Romania into a hyper-industrialized state, which should produce everything, although it was known even by nonspecialists that not even a developed country had been able to achieve such a thing. Therefore, a number of industrial mastodons appeared, which recorded a daily loss of five to six million lei when they did not operate temporarily, and losses twice as high when they resumed their activity. Owing to the same lack of economic rationale, Romania used to import crude oil and export oil products at a lower price than the crude oil bought from other countries.

The use of foreign credits to fulfill some megalomaniac plans of personal prestige aimed at manufacturing commodities, which could not be sold in world markets, led to the situation of our country being unable to pay its

foreign debts; this made the dictator resort to a new mean deed: starving the Romanian people. While our people were even deprived of their daily bread, the tyrant—even at this price—amassed funds at foreign banks to be able to escape the judgment of the people.

He did not escape his greatest fear. However, in its wake, the odious Ceausescu clique has left an economy in a situation the like of which not even a devastating war could have caused.

The damage caused is tremendous and ADEVARUL proposes to discuss these and many other aspects by inviting the nation to participate in this dialogue and competent scientific analysis.

Revolution 'Likened to the 1848 Revolution'

AU0401092090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1228 GMT 3 Jan 90

["We Must Be Worthy of Our Followers"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 3/1/1990—In a talk with a ROMPRES news agency editor, Academician Alexandru Birladeanu, a member of the Council of the National Salvation Front [NSF] said:

Today's Romanian revolution will become one of the major events in our history. It is more than the 23 August 1944 upheaval which was an armed insurrection against a fascist regime and against foreign occupation troops. By its social consequences it can be likened to the 1848 Revolution, only this one has gone deeper, it has called for greater sacrifices and above all it has gone all the way to victory.

What is unique about it is the fact that it was made by the youth, the working, learning and military youth, a youth that had been robbed of its future.

It has been said that arts and trades can breed masterpieces, only politics can breed monsters. Well, a monster has been eliminated by the youth today.

By changing the terms of a well-known phrase, I could say that we, the forerunners, the elderly must be worthy of our followers.

Tokes' Message to Hungarian Democrats Union

AU0401171590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1339 GMT 4 Jan 90

["Laszlo Tokes' Message"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 4/1/1990—In a message he addressed to the Hungarian Democrats' Union of Banat published by "ADEVARUL," Pastor Laszlo Tokes says among other things: "We must learn to use our liberty. Otherwise we can fall again under the yoke of obsequiousness."

The pastor urges for close watch over "the cleanness of our liberty so that nothing may happen in the newly created conditions like before because of the lack of vigilance after the war that made our organizational life be swallowed up in an opportunist manner and with a condemnable shortsightedness by the nationalistic reaction which signed its own death sentence with a voluntaristic zeal."

Tokes' Lawyer Analyzes Court Decision

AU2612234389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1928 GMT 26 Dec 89

["Letter of Toekes Laszlo's Lawyer"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 26/12/1989—Assessing the action brought against Reformed Pastor Laszlo Tokes on 21 September 1989 by the Timisoara parish as a "gross frame-up" (ADEVARUL 1/25 December 1989), lawyer Elod Kincses analyses in a letter to the same political and social daily the lawfulness of the decisions of the Timisoara Court of Justice and Timis County Court which rejected the illustrious pastor's appeal.

Pastor Laszlo Tokes' lawyer contests, first of all, the competence of the former reformed bishop of Oradea, Laszlo Papp, to dismiss a pastor. The rules of the Reformed Church of Romania, signed among others by reform bishop of Oradea himself, stipulates that such penalties can be given by the church's own courts exclusively. The bishop, he specifies, eluded the legal way, taking an arbitrary measure with the help of the religious denominations department.

The lawyer also shows that not even the basic regulations of civil procedure of Romania have been observed in promoting the eviction penalty.

The series of illegalities culminated with the fact that the summons sent to the pastor was not accompanied by the complete civic ruling, lawyer Elod Kincses of Tirgu Mures concludes.

In consideration of the fact that all the five judges considered an action that was unlawful from many points of view as lawful and admissible due to the "diabolical invention" according to which the people's councils elect the judges, lawyer Elod Kincses demands a new law of judicial organization which should reintroduce, instead of the principles of "eligibility" of judges, the old principle of their irrevocability, an independent judge being able to more easily resist local or other influences. Obviously, he adds, the prestige of this function of high importance in a state of legality and justice, that is to be built in Romania, should be enhanced.

Veteran Leader Maurer Regrets Backing Ceausescu

AU0501164390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1429 GMT 5 Jan 90

["An Interview With Mr Ion Gheorghe Maurer"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/1/1990—"It is I who did the mistake of bringing Nicolae Ceausescu at the head of the party, as general secretary," stated Mr Ion Gheorghe Maurer, former prime minister of Romania, said in an interview granted to the Free Romanian Television, the first part of which was broadcast on January 4 in the evening. Explaining the conditions in which he had done that mistake, he pointed out that although at the time when the former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] leader Gheorghiu-Dej's illness had become more drastic and the question of succession had emerged, the proposal had been made that Gheorghe Apostol be elected, he (Maurer) had proposed Ceausescu, because of "Alexandru Draghici's opposition and Ceausescu's indirect opposition." His decision was promoted by the fear that "the opening of the fight for power" could have entailed the danger of Russian troops that had just left and that Romania's international prestige won by his visits to China, the United States, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and other countries, might have receded. He also added that Ceausescu had seemed to him to be a man ardently wishing to learn, an open mind who "sits, listens, tries to understand."

Ion Gheorghe Maurer then mentioned that his divergences with Ceausescu had begun on matters of Romania's forced industrialization.

He stated that he had waited long for the revolution that occurred in Romania "as a result of the destructive policy promoted by Ceausescu." "I expected the revolution to be a popular one, a mass upheaval that is, since I did not trust the intelligentsia," he said.

Ion Gheorghe Maurer pointed out that he was "very hopeful and confident" about the events of December 1989, expressing also his trust in a number of leaders of the National Salvation Front [NSF] whom he knew. He mentioned Ion Iliescu, Alexandru Birladeanu, Corneliu Manescu.

The second part of the interview will be on TV tonight.

Cornea Asks NSF To Clarify Democratic Position

AU0901154890 Paris AFP in English 1529 GMT 9 Jan 90

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 9 (AFP)—Doina Cornea, one of the best-known dissidents of the Ceausescu era, called on Romania's new leaders Tuesday "to clarify their position" on what type of democracy they want to establish.

"Democracy does not exist in our country", Mrs. Doina said in a telephone interview from her home in the central town of Cluj.

The former university French teacher told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE she had issued an "appeal", due to appear in the local weekly TRIBUNA, for "a real, Western-type democracy" to be set up by the provisional government.

The appeal called for a return "to the true democratic values that prevailed in Romania before the war," she said.

"One does not transform, in a few days, the mentality of a people who have undergone half a century of communism," she added in the interview.

Asked how she thought the provisional government was progressing since its creation three weeks ago, Mrs. Doina said she believed there was "a risk in the coming period."

For this reason, the National Salvation Front should "specify its position and its intentions."

However the former dissident said she did not object to the fact the new leadership was formed mainly of veteran Communists.

Under the Ceausescu regime, secret police persecuted Mrs. Doina repeatedly and she was put under house arrest several times.

She spoke in a weak voice during the interview and said she was "exhausted".

ROMPRES Carries 7 Jan Press Review

AU0701184190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1649 GMT 7 Jan 90

["Free Romanian Press Review"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 07/01/1990—The leading Romanian newspapers of Sunday, January 7, give extensive space to aspects of the intensive activity carried out in all areas to normalize the political and socioeconomic life as a whole.

ADEVARUL inserts the interviews it had been granted by Andrei Plesu, minister of culture, who shares opinions on rebirth resources and the immediate steps to be taken to revitalize Romanian culture, Gheorghe Caranfil, minister of chemical and petrochemical industry, who refers to the difficult situation in that area and to the priorities of the present in order to redress that industry, and by academician Alexandru Birladeanu who dwells on the stringent problems in the Romanian economy. In TINERETUL LIBER Justice Minister Teofil Pop details the decree on the amnesty of offences and remission of punishments.

All the newspapers continue to print materials unveiling the multifarious crimes and abuses of Ceausescu's dictatorial regime. Much space is also given to the process of real democratization of the sociopolitical life. Politologist Ovidiu Trasnea signs the article "Pluralism as an Option" in ADEVARUL. The editorial in ROMANIA LIBERA, headlined "Reasons for Worry: Free But Not Rushed Elections" and signed by Octavian Paler, honorary director of the newspaper, shows that time is needed to allow the parties that are now being formed to lay the foundations of their identity with a view to avoiding improvisation and the threat of disparagement of the idea of political pluralism. Futhermore, society needs a respite for the moral recovery of the political climate. The same newspaper runs the article "Without Labellings" by literary critic Dumitru Micu, who shows that the interests of the revolution call for the activization of all uncompromised capacities, among former RCP [Romanian Communist Party] members included, no matter the context in which they were forced to express themselves until the fall of the dictatorship. ROMANIA LIBERA prints an open letter sent to the NSF [National Salvation Front] Council by C. Bostina, who was recently dismissed from his office as deputy minister of the national economy, in which he exculpates himself of the tasks assigned to him in his capacity as Nicolae Ceausescu's adviser. In its section "The ABC of Democracy," newspaper TINERETUL LIBER inserts a documentary on "Liberals and Neo-Liberals," signed by sociologist Eugen Mihasescu. Under the headline "Democracy Is Consolidated Through Learning," the same newspaper runs an interview granted to it by Professor George Vaideanu, a UNESCO expert.

The Magyar-language newspaper ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO (The Magyar Word in Romania) and the German-language NEUER WEG reproduce the text of "The Declaration of the National Salvation Front on the Rights of National Minorities in Romania." Under the heading "The Democratic Union of Romania Will Nominate Its Own Candidates for the Elections," readers are informed of a press conference organized by the Provisional Executive Committee of the Magyar Democratic Union in Romania and of the answers given by Domokos Geza. Inter alia, he says that "As far as the Magyar population in Romania is concerned there are two essential problems: Hungary should state it has no territorial claims, which it has already done, for that matter, and Romania should ensure equal rights to all nationalities, through stipulations in the Constitution. With that as a basis a true friendship between the two countries can be built." The newspaper NEUER WEG also refers to the creation of the Democratic Front of the Germans in Banat and the declaration adopted by that forum in support of the NSF programme. It also carries feature reports on the work of miners of German nationalitiy in the Jiu valley and on the stand taken by the German population in Reghin, Mures County, who welcome the NSF policy as concerns national minorities.

Under the headline "A Fine Romanian-Soviet Understanding," the newspaper ADEVARUL informs its readers of the talks of Council President of the NSF Ion Iliescu and Romanian Prime Minister Petre Roman conducted with the foreign minister of the USSR, Eduard Shevardnadze, who paid an official visit to Romania on Saturday. This and other newspapers insert the text of the Romanian-Soviet communique, as well as a news item on the talks between the Soviet guest and his Romanian counterpart, Sergiu Celac. Heading its account "The Romanian Revolution Is a Phenomenon of European and World Proportions," quoting an assessment by Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, ADEVARUL refers at length to his press conference in Bucharest on Saturday evening. ROMANIA LIBERA frontpages Shevardnadze's exclusive interview "We Will Have Confidence in Each Other and We Will Help Each Other."

In their "Diplomatic Agenda" sections, the newspapers refer to the congratulatory telegrams sent to the Council of the NSF president and to the Romanian premier on their having been appointed to the respective offices, as well as Ion Iliescu's and Petre Roman's messages of response. Inserted are the congratulatory telegrams sent to the Council president by the president of the Republic of Tunisia, Zine El Abidine Ben Ali, and by Lieutenant-General 'Umar Hasan Ahmad al-Bashir, president of the Council of the National Salvation Revolution Command of Sudan, as well as the telegrams of congratulations sent to the Romanian prime minister by the prime minister of Algeria, Mouloud Hamrouche, and by Tunisia's premier, Hamed Karoui.

The previous day's diplomatic agenda also informs readers of the call on the Council of the NSF first vice-president, Dumitru Mazilu, by Cardinal Francesco Colasuonno, itinerant apostolic nuncio for the East European countries, special envoy of Pope John Paul II, who expressed the Holy See's solidarity with and support to the Romanian people's victorious democratic revolution.

The press reproduces a declaration of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania which highlights the Romanian people's wish to fully join in the process begun by the Helsinki Final Act from which, despite its will, it was kept aside by the old regime and shows that the ministry is empowered to officially state that Romania withdraws all the reserves and interpretative statements formulated on orders by the old regime on January 15, 1989 in connection with the final document of the All-European Conference on Security and Cooperation in Vienna and to confirm Romania's acceptance of that document as a whole.

The foreign newsgrams in today's newspaper reflect the overall interest and the political, moral, and humanitarian support of the public opinion and of officials on all meridians to the Romanian revolution, to the fast process of normalizing the situation.

The section "Our Answers to Our Readers" in ADEVARUL inserts the documentary feature report "What We Did Not Know About Amnesty International," which shows, inter alia, that along the years, the respective organization rose in defence of many Romanians such as priest Gheorghe Calciu-Dumitreasa, the leaders of the 1977 strike in the Jiu valley, the leaders of the protest demonstration in Brasov in 1987, the leaders of the Free Trade Union of the Working People in Romania, the participants in a movement writer Paul Goma initiated in 1977, and, more recently, Professor Doina Cornea, poet Mircea Dinescu, writer Dan Petrescu, and many many others.

Under the headline "The Romanian Revolution Was No Putsch" in the newspaper ROMANIA LIBERA is the interview with General Nicolae Militaru, minister of national defence, granted to the "Antenne 2" French TV station. [sentence as received] The same newspaper carries an interview granted by Dan Bernfeld, an expert of the European Council, which is titled "The European Council Awaits Romania With Open Arms," as well as a statement made by U.S. Congressman Frank Wolf during a press conference held at the U.S. Embassy in Bucharest on January 5. Like interviews are also printed in TINERETUL LIBER.

Democratic Alliance Opens Branch in Titograd

AU2811170689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25-26 Nov 89 p 14

[Unattributed report: "Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative Opens Branch in Titograd"]

[Text] Titograd—The Zagreb-based Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative has "acquired" a branch in the Montenegrin capital, too. The Titograd branch has 110 members. The office of the president of the Executive Committee of the Titograd Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative will be filled by Dr Novak Jaukovic, professor at the Titograd Technical Faculty.

Democratic Party Founded in Montenegro

AU2712154789 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Dec 89 p 3

[S.V. report: "To Power Legally"]

[Text] Titograd, 17 Dec—That things concerning the development of democracy in Montenegro are moving and that they are moving very fast is also illustrated by the citizens' approval of pluralist and democratic orientations.

So far the proponents of these ideas have mainly been associations, committees, and alternative groups. However, 3 days ago, the Democratic Party emerged which is very clear in its intentions—it will fight for power in a legal and democratic way.

The founding assembly aroused great interest, and not only among the citizens of Titograd. Guests were the most active people in the work of the assembly. So, for instance, Dr Vesna Pesic from Belgrade stressed that this was clearly the first opposition party that is not flirting with the authorities and that is completely Yugoslav-oriented. Professor Dr Ljubomir Madjar, also from Belgrade, said that this assembly represented perhaps an important step toward democratic development and the constitutional setting up of a different, better Yugoslavia. They were joined by Professor Dr Alija Hodzic from Zagreb and his colleague Nebojsa Popov from Belgrade. The clearest in presenting all the views was Professor Dr Dragan Veselinov who claimed that only a democratic party can remove the predominance of blood, religion, and nation, and calls for arms and war that are heard in Yugoslavia. In his view, this party's aim is to replace the Soviet-style Yugoslav state with a law-governed one.

The democrats from Montenegro held the same view. At the end, it was stated that the party has 200 members so far. Professor Dr Slobodan Vujosevic from the Faculty of Sciences at Titograd University was elected president.

Montenegrin LC Discusses Pluralism

LD3012132189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1359 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Titograd, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin LC should not oppose the formal legal registration of new political subjects in the Republic, nor should it encourage a rigid and restrictive interpretation of the existing legal regulations in that sphere, because they contain so many legal voids that they are virtually unusable, or they are ideological and not legal in character. This was stressed by Srdjan Darmanovic, member of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium, in his introductory remarks at today's session of the Central Committee of this republic, devoted to political pluralism and the party's practical orientation toward it.

Darmanovic also noted that the Montenegrin LC should not insist on any obligatory association or political registration of new political factors via or within the Socialist Alliance of Working People, since, according to him, this challenges the sovereign principle of freedom, voluntarism, and lack of coercion.

Stressing the orientations toward reform in the LC, Darmanovic said that members of the Montenegrin LC cannot, out of elementary civil integrity, be members of other parties. However, they may freely participate in the work of all those political movements and associations whose program is not opposed to the program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia. He was thereby taking a stand on behalf of those members of the LC in Montenegro who have already joined some form of so-called political alternative, including those which have declared themselves a party.

Srdja Darmanovic noted that the Montenegrin political domain has been to a large extent pluralized since January, and that freedom of political association is actively used in this republic. However, he considers that the formation of new political subjects does not automatically mean, either in Montenegro or in Yugoslavia, the inauguration of a multi-party system, because many legal and political prerequisites for that still do not exist. They should, however, be created so that unproductive and anachronistic talk about freedom of political association can be abandoned, and open, specific discussions on the forthcoming legal and political regulation of a multi-party system begun. The Montenegrin LC should take part in this task, and the laws which regulate freedom of political association, elections, and the press should be adopted ahead of the new constitution in order to facilitate the equal participation of all democratic forces in the growing social and political pluralism in its adoption, said Srdjan Darmanovic.

Stressing that the main issue of the debate on political pluralism is how the LC will adjust to the new conditions, when so far in the post-war period it has not participated in any elections which it could lose, Darmanovic noted that the era of such a communist party is in the irretrievable past. The question is whether the LC

will indeed be a new party, which will adjust all its documents and practice to the fact that it is only a party among parties, or whether it will adopt the democratic rhetoric while maintaining its so-called revolutionary ideology, centralistic organization, and Machiavellian policies, and thereby become only a political anachronism.

Srdjan Darmanovic, member of the Montenegrin LC Central Committee Presidium, considers that the principle of democratic centralism should be modified through the idea of free horizontal integration. According to him, democratic centralism is not essential for action efficiency, repels young people from the LC, and, in conditions of legality and democratic rules of the game, it offers no advantage in comparison with other players on the political stage.

Darmanovic presented these stands and ideas in the context of the clear realization that this fall, culminating with the bloody end of the Ceausescu regime, real socialism has been spectacularly defeated before our eyes. After these tumultuous events, there is no longer any country in Europe, apart from Albania, whose political relations are not founded on democracy and political pluralism. Thus, in his view, it is fruitless to debate the question of party or nonparty pluralism, which today, apart from Albania, only Yugoslavia is doing.

Almost all the participants in the discussion agreed that political pluralism is our reality, and that the debate on it does not imply a decision for or against. The main issue to which attention should be given is how to equip and modernize the LC for activity in these conditions, so that it may adequately respond to the challenges which are now being posed. [passage omitted: participants in the debate speak overwhelmingly in favor of political pluralism]

Montenegrin Group Wants Marxism Scrapped

AU2512163489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] The Niksic Association for Improving Democratic Processes demands the initiation of a process of abolishing Marxism as a special subject in all educational institutions. The association stresses that the compulsory study of Marxism has led to the emergence of now already discredited departments for Marxism unknown to university practice whose diplomas are the most convincing proof of our economic and political absurdity.

The Niksic Association has sent a letter to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, the SFRY Assembly, and all educational institutions in Montenegro.

Kapicic Elected Montenegrin SUBNOR President

LD2612110889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1742 GMT 25 Dec 89

[Text] Titograd, 25 Dec (TANJUG)—The new president of the Montenegrin war veterans' organization is Vlado Kapicic, a 1941 veteran from the partisan war, a veteran of the 1st and 4th Shock Brigades, and after the war, a prominent Yugoslav People's Army officer and eminent sociopolitical worker.

Kapicic was elected to the top post of the Montenegrin war veterans' organization by a secret ballot today at the session of the Montenegrin SUBNOR (Federation of the National Liberation War Veterans Associations) board.

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Letter to Presidency

AU0901135590 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 Dec 89 p 3

[Report by M.A.: "A New Name—Same Aim"]

[Excerpt] Pristina, 27 Dec—The newly founded "Kosovo Democratic Alliance," whose members are exclusively ethnic Albanian intellectuals, today decided to "advertise" its first public appearance by addressing the SFRY Presidency. It sent the SFRY Presidency an open letter which is almost identical to the one sent by the "Committee for the Protection of Human Rights and Freedoms" to the same addressee. What else can happen when the same people belong both to the "committee" and the "alliance"?

The open letter of the "Kosovo Democratic Alliance" signed by Ibrahim Rugova on behalf of the alliance's presidium says, among other things, the following: "We consider it to be unsuitable and untenable to continue the emergency measures in Kosovo. One can claim that they have been essentially reduced, but even as such they represent sufficient reason and excuse to the provincial authorities to use the emergency situation, emergency measures, as well as emergency and unlimited prerogatives to do everything including the crude use of force...."

We are surprised, the letter said further, by the unreserved support extended to the so-called struggle against indoctrination in education, culture, and the media, without telling and explaining what that struggle really means.

We are forced to explain to the SFRY Presidency that this struggle against "indoctrination," in the specific forms it can take—such as uncontrolled and irresponsible expulsion from work and persecution of individuals working in education, science, media, etc.—represents essentially a violation of individual and collective rights of Albanians in Yugoslavia.

"Collective rights of the Albanians are violated because those people who are usually punished and expelled are the better and more creative educational and scientific

workers their work and creativeness hindered. All that cannot help but have an essentially negative effect on the creativeness of Albanians in general," it is said in the letter. [passage omitted]

Kosovo Party Provincial Meeting Elects Leaders

LD2112062489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1441 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Text] Pristina, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—At an electoral conference today, Zivorad Igic, outgoing editor-in-chief of JEDINSTVO of Pristina, was elected president of the Kosovo Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] Provincial Conference. By a majority vote, Ferat Ahmeti was elected secretary of the Presidium of the Kosovo SAWP Provincial Conference. Other members of the Presidium, as well as presidents of the Kosovo SAWP's various bodies, were also elected today.

In the ensuing debate, the political situation in Kosovo was described as very complex. Attention was drawn to the unabating emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

Kosovo Assembly Endorses Policies

LD2812061189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1527 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Summary] Pristina, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—Today delegates of all three chambers of the Assembly of Kosovo held a session at which they endorsed a report on the realization of investment policy and the province's policy of regional development for the past 4 years. They also elected Niko Ljumezi, to date member of the Executive Council of the Provincial Assembly, and Zoran Tabakovic, to date deputy provincial secretary for judiciary and administration, judges of the Kosovo Constitutional Court. Before the session began Radenko Krulj, newly elected member of the Presidency of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, was formally sworn in.

Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Presidium Meets

LD2912211589 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 29 Dec 89

[Text] Pristina, 29 Dec (TANJUG)—Albanian nationalists and separatists are becoming increasingly bold and inconsiderate, and their activity is taking on the characteristics of terrorism. On the other hand, the involvement of the subjective forces in stabilizing the situation is inadequate. This is one of the key assessments from today's session of the Kosovo League of Communists [LC] Provincial Committee Presidium, which examined the current political situation in the province.

Albanian nationalists and separatists, Zivorad Igic noted, are organizing themselves in certain parts of the province along the lines of guerrilla units, taking advantage of fog, darkness, and the outskirts of settlements. In this game the scenario of the enemy is well-known, Igic noted. They operate everywhere, at every opportunity throughout Kosovo, maintain tension, and put pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins. Igic termed what happened recently in Podujevo as terroristic savagery of Albanilan separatists, and highway robbery. He noted that in the last 9 months alone, some 2,000 hostile slogans and leaflets from positions of Albanian nationalism and separatism have been found. Igic also noted the impotence of the state in confronting the separatists' assaults.

Dobrosav Radovic also saw elements of terrorism in the almost daily demonstrations and violence of the Albanian nationalists, and warned of the slow reaction of the responsible state organs and sociopolitical organizations.

Pristina Corps Commander Lieutenant Colonel General Andrija Ilic, cited as an example of the passivity of those responsible the fact that the almost daily demonstrations of separatists in Podujevo are preceded by power cuts. Zoran Andjelkovic, member of the Serbian LC Central Committee Presidium, also considers that what is happening in Podujevo indicates elements of terrorism. Provincial Secretary for Internal Affairs Jusuf Karakusi noted that the separatists are using various opportunities for their activity, and that illegal hostile organizations of separatists are being revived in Kosovo. He also cited the fact that the number of attacks on members of the Serbian and Montenegrin nationality have been reduced by almost half. Several participants in today's debate noted that differentiation has not been carried out in Kosovo, citing the examples in top positions in certain provincial organs and institutions where there are still people who have acted from nationalist positions. Differentiation has not been carried out in education, in high schools and faculties, it was noted. The undiminished emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo was also noted, as was the process of the "ethnic emptying" of schools, villages, towns, and institutions in Kosovo.

It was also noted that the deteriorating political situation in Kosovo is causing disunity in the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, and attention was drawn to the "patronizing attitude" toward the threatened position of Albanians in Kosovo, which emanates from the northwestern parts of our country.

Concluding the session, Rahman Morina, president of the Kosovo LC Central Committee Presidium, assessed that the political situation in the province is very complex, and noted the increased activity of Albanian nationalists in the past 3 months. He also noted that political activity is inadequate, and that a law-governed state no longer functions in Kosovo.

Turning to the unity achieved in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, Morina wanted to know who, in certain areas of the country, is unhappy about this unity.

It is disliked, he said, because Serbia allegedly has three voices in the Federation. Why should anyone be unhappy about that if they have three voices for Yugoslavia? Morina asked.

Speaking about the upcoming constitutional changes, Morina underlined that these changes do not bring into question the autonomy of the province and its constitutional position in the Federation. In the upcoming changes in the political system, the provinces should have the established rights and position in the Federation as autonomous socialist sociopolitical and self-managing communities within the Socialist Republic of Serbia, as established in the SFRY Constitution. They should be directly represented in the Federation and its organs, with the right of independent participation in the processes of decision-making in the Federation, Morina said.

Commenting on the formation of certain associations in Kosovo, Morina stressed that all those associations and alliances whose programs are socialist in character have the support of the LC. However, he added, there is no support for those political associations whose programs are aimed at destroying socialist Yugoslavia, the gains of the revolution, brotherhood, and unity Morina said in conclusion.

Democratic Initiative Pristina Branch Appeal

LD0912145189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1249 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Text] Pristina, 8 Dec (TANJUG)—The Pristina branch of the Association for a Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, which was founded last night by its Pristina Assembly, issued a statement today in which it expresses concern at the country's current difficult political and economic situation, especially in Kosovo. We are monitoring with anxiety the exacerbation of relations between the Yugoslav peoples and the republics because we see them as amounting to the suspension of the opportunity for the democratization of Yugoslavia.

We appeal to all political authorities to take seriously their historical responsibility for the decisions which they make and which could have unforeseeable consequences for present and future generations of Yugoslav citizens, the statement says.

Kosovo Youth Organization Elects New Leadership

LD2712131989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0800 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Pristina, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—The extraordinary conference of Kosovo SSO [Federation of Socialist Youth] ended early this morning with the election of the youth organization's new leadership and with the adoption of a program of activities. By a majority of votes Dijamant Hoti was elected president of the Kosovo SSO Provincial Conference.

It came as a surprise that both the official candidate for the office of president and a number of candidates for other offices who have all been prominent in political activities so far and in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and separatism failed to receive the necessary number of votes. [passage omitted: nomination procedure and elections did not seem to be marred by nationalist divisions]

Human Rights Group Formed in Kosovo

LD1512173489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1213 GMT 15 Dec 89

[Text] Pristina, 15 Dec (TANJUG)—A committee for the protection of human rights and freedoms was founded in Pristina last night. A statement published today points out that members of the committee are prominent intellectuals from all nations and nationalities.

It also adds that a delay in founding the committee resulted from special conditions which existed and still exist in Kosovo. According to the statement, the committee will work toward halting open as well as hidden violations of human rights and freedoms, which is particularly evident in Kosovo.

The committee's foundation is also an expression of an increasingly democratic spirit in the country and the world, a better climate in this area, and of the current need that rights and freedoms guaranteed by our constitutions and which are contained in international conventions should be respected and enjoyed by everybody in an equal measure, regardless of national, religious, or regional affiliation, it is said in the statement.

Academician Idriz Ajeti was elected president of the committee.

Macedonian Party Congress Reviewed

AU2712152589 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 2-3 Dec 89 p 2

[Dragan Nikolic article: "Departure of Bankrupt Structure: After Macedonian Party Congress"]

[Text] The "reform current" in the League of Communists of Macedonia won at the Macedonian Party congress just held. This happened most probably thanks to the broad social "democratic wave" that could not bypass the congress, to the program document, and to the general dissatisfaction with a policy that was established at the beginning of the seventies ("restoration of Bolshevism"). On the eve of the congress, there have been some attempts to place this "reform wave" "within the framework of the political conflicts in the country, between the northwest and the southeast," which the Macedonian press assessed as "an intrigue that insinuates divisions among Macedonian politicians" and as "anachronistic interference" making a "sinister impression." Indeed, the congress elected its organs in a democratic way, demonstrated by the fact that for the first

time, the new head of the Macedonian Communists was not known until the last minute.

It seems that Mihail Danev did not lose because he failed to enjoy the support of the "northwest," but because in two public speeches during the election race, he insisted too much on "unprincipled attempts to disqualify him." Perhaps this pushed into the background his program speeches in which he also advocated radical changes, especially in a speech to the Veterans Federation in Skopje where he asked for "a law-governed state instead of a party state," "making an end to the League of Communists monopoly," "political pluralism," "a place in the sun for the alternative movements," and "a market economy." On that occasion, he also spoke about the negativist irritation of the Macedonian people (by "the negativist attitude of the Serbian Orthodox Church" and "of a number of Yugoslav intellectuals"), and the need for "a constant and firm Macedonian presence on the Yugoslav political scene," so that Macedonia "may make its contribution to the way out of the crisis" and help "prevent all possible further (anti-Macedonian) moves." This confirmed the belief of those who maintained that he was a politician of a democratic orientation.

However, not only were his program speeches overshadowed by his insisting on "untruths and insinuations," but their democratic sincerity was doubted by some people in the public, because he publicly criticized MLAD BOREC, thus allegedly "advocating the banning of one of its more avant-garde issues," because he allegedly made an "anti-Vevcani speech" when some time ago he acquainted a gathering in Struga with the views of the Macedonian Party leadership (supporting the Struga leadership which has since fallen), and allegedly because he got involved in "crudely undermining" Risto Ljubotenski, candidate for president of the communal party committee in Stip, a member of "the young democratic wave." He thus acquired the image of a politician of the "old school."

Additional Points

Petar Gosev, now head of the Macedonian Communists, but at that time member of the same leadership, from the very beginning was counted as a politician of radical reform. He was one of the key ideologists of the Macedonian Party Conference at which the earlier views of the League of Communists of Macedonia Central Committee on the market and democracy were confirmed. He also gained wider sympathies through his prominent involvement in redefining "socialist realism dogmas." His criticisms of our practice of "the bureaucratic and dogmatic kind" were greeted with strong applause. Had it not been for his intervention at the congress itself, the danger existed that dissatisfied youths could leave the congress, and he thus scored additional points.

When Petar Gosev received almost 100 delegates' votes more than Danev in a secret ballot, this was a sign that the "reform current" won the victory and not that the policy of the "northwestern provenance" was winning in Macedonia. By the way, some other members of the top party leadership were eliminated from the election race in the same way, such as Dr Svetomir Skaric (allegedly because he defended the Law on Early Retirement in the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia), Lence Sofronijevska (allegedly she did not dissociate herself clearly from repression in Vevcani), and Cvetko Veljanovski (he allegedly got "excessively involved" in the latest party elections). Apart from the dissatisfaction expressed by the youth, it was shown that the "wave of democracy" was not the usual "Bolshevik decoration" but a serious election factor.

It was noted that the youths appeared at the congress in a persistent and smoothly running manner, and their "bold ideas" were sometimes greeted by slow, disparaging applause. (Applause also greeted speakers of opposite views.) Their actions were obviously coordinated (except, it seems, in proposing Tupurkovski as a third candidate for president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Macedonia). Risto Ivanov, the leader of the youths, presented all these ideas in some 15 points.

He accused the League of Communists of "not allowing anybody else to discuss changes in society." He requested that the "League of Communists should not get any advantage as regards other parties" in the forthcoming constitutional changes, and that "the League of Communists at the coming elections should propose a single (own) candidate and not several of them, and should support him." He also asked that any political organization, except Trade Unions, be excluded from the economy and that party officials should run for state offices and should undergo the test of election. He said that in the past period, "the Party was in power" despite the decisions of the ninth Congress, and that "the congress should apologize to the people for an unsuccessful policy."

Guardians of Freedom and Not of Power

However, the greatest uproar was caused by the observation by one of the youths (Toni Popovski) to the effect that Stojan Asprovski, commander of Territorial Defense, in his speech spoke only about the results but not about current problems, such as the "depolitization of the Yugoslav People's Army," "civilian instead of Army service," and the like. Stojan Asprovski reacted resolutely saying: "I do not know what you want of the Yugoslav People's Army. Should it shut itself in the barracks?" Petar Gosev intervened saying that what is in fact involved here is "the problem of functional ties in the League of Communists," and the man who raised the objection referred to the shorthand notes which showed that he had only remarked on the fact that the Territorial Defense commander did not speak about these "current problems." According to the majority, the discussion of the Yugoslav People's Army was not acceptable "because it is the only remaining sound cohesive force in the country," but according to those who remained a

minority, "the youths who go to serve the Army under conditions of political pluralism also have the right to other political convictions than those held by their officers" (and therefore depolitization is the solution). The speeches by the youths otherwise asked for "society to shed ideology in general," which especially applies to state organs (so that they may be "guardians of freedom, and not of power"), and for inefficient social ownership to be abandoned ("incentives for business operations have been lost").

It is believed in Skopje that the 10th Congress was the beginning of the end of "the policy of a political structure" that brought the republic to bankruptcy. (The latest issue of MLAD BOREC says that the well-known phrase, "bankruptcy of the republics," is true.) Income in Macedonia is now lower than in Slovenia by a factor of 2.5. The losses in the economy equal capital accumulation, and 140,000 young people were out of work and had no prospects. It is said that "restored politics" blamed others for this, so that it might carry out "ideological felling of successful directors." Therefore people hope that democracy will also make a turn in the economy, and will free the potentials shackled by all kinds of monopolies. It was also heard at the congress that the republic will enter Balkan and European integration more boldly, and Petar Gosev also addressed words of encouragement to the delegates and the nation at the end of the congress.

Macedonian Assembly Backs Constitutional Changes

LD2812063689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1124 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Skopje, 27 dec (TANJUG)—The delegates of all chambers of the Macedonian Assembly at this year's joint final session held today endorsed the Federal Executive Committee's proposal to begin work on changing the SFRY Constitution. They also adopted the draft change in the constitutional law on the implementation of several amendments to the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia.

The delegates' decisions on these important documents were unanimous. [passage omitted]

Adopts New Electoral Law

LD2812064789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1753 GMT 27 Dec 89

[Excerpt] Skopje, 27 Dec (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Macedonia adopted the electoral law—which is hardly acceptable to anyone—which is in the eyes of the majority of the population, and especially of the League of Communists, just a compromise and which lags far behind society's democratic aspirations. This law introduces three novelties: registration conferences for establishing candidates are to be abolished; citizens are enabled to put themselves forward as candidates, granted that a prospective candidate has collected 150 signatures; and possibilities are opened up for sociopolitical organizations to propose their sublists to a joint Socialist Alliance of Working People list.

According to many delegates, the last regulation and, partly, the previous two, open up the path towards multiparty pluralism and space for a greater democratization. All this is, however, as assessed in the discussion, just an attempt to allow the greatest possible changes within tight constraints imposed by the Constitution in force.

The League of Communists, war veterans, and youth of Macedonia hold that democratic aspirations of the public and the people are greater and much broader. They would be more satisfied if the new law was completely democratic and enabled general, direct and secret elections with the greatest number of candidates and without mediators. It was assessed that neither of the mentioned three legal novelties provide conditions for this, nor do they remove the key weakness of the electoral and political system: indirect democracy [posredna demokratija]. [passage omitted]

Macedonian Professors Rehabilitated

AU0801104790 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 89 p 14

[Unattributed report: "Rehabilitation of Professors Cokrevski and Nedkov"]

[Text] Skopje—Tomislav Cokrevski and Milan Nedkov, professors at the law faculty in Skopje, who were accused 15 years ago of being "prisoners of the liberal current in the ranks of the League of Communists of Macedonia" and were therefore punished by the party, have been rehabilitated after a unanimous decision was reached of by members of the Basic Organization of the Law Faculty League of Communists and their party punishments have been abolished.

The conclusions of the working group state that the proposal on abolishing the party punishments of Cokrevski and Nedkov should be interpreted as a definite break with "the reoccurrence of a time" when such punishments were handed down only because people held different views.

Slovene Opposition Seeks Economic Sovereignty

LD1412143489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2258 GMT 13 Dec 89

[Text] Ljubljana, Dec 13 (TANJUG)—Slovenia's opposition union, calling itself "Demos", today sought economic sovereignty for Slovenia, Yugoslavia's most industrialized constituent republic, and the suspension of all federal legislation that make this sovereignty impossible.

In presenting its program for the first time, "Demos" told a news conference here that an economic boycott of

Slovenia by Yugoslavia's biggest republic Serbia as of December 1 had shown that the State Presidency cannot guarantee the federal units the conditions for their normal economic development. No effective countermeasures, "Demos" said, were undertaken by the government of Slovenia.

In asserting that at this moment Slovenia's material foundation was in jeopardy, "Demos" demanded that the republic's assembly (parliament) together with this opposition group should carry temporary special measures that would remain effective until economic recovery. Also, Slovenia should introduce its temporary monetary unit—to be issued by the republic's "state bank"—for the balancing of the entire commodity and financial turnover to be started immediately.

General Condemns Blockade of Slovenia

LD1512212489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1642 GMT 14 Dec 89

[Text] Bregana, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—The economic blockade of Slovenia is inappropriate at this time and we in the Army regard it as a conflict stifling the three reforms's implementation. It is also certain that the blockade will bring serious political and economic consequences. Major General Ivo Tominc, assistant commander of the fifth military district for political and legal activities, stressed this at a traditional meeting with editors and journalists from the Socialist Republic [SR] of Croatia and the SR of Slovenia who report on the activities of the SFRY Armed Forces and those of the units, institutions, and commanding bodies of the fifth military district.

The journalists were first taken to visit and inspect the workshops of the Technical Maintenance Institute in Bregana and then for a meeting with this institute's management.

Asked about his views on the economic blockade, Maj Gen Tominc, pointed out that the country's defense is a question of supreme importance. Defense is not distributed among the republics, he said, so we will demand, as far as our production is concerned, that all contracts are carried out regardless of where our production facilities are. However, Gen Tominc added, I believe that this situation cannot last long, since in this way we cannot arrive anywhere. We should communicate as well and as easily as possible and move toward the market economy. The Yugoslav People's Army is open to this now.

Maj Gen Tominc stressed that the Yugoslav People's Army is not going to slow down any kind of democratic development in this country. It has not done this so far and it will not do so in the future. The Yugoslav People's Army will adjust to all changes in society and in doing so it will strictly observe the Constitution.

Breaking Serbia-Slovenia Ties Said Damaging

AU1912215989 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 13 Dec 89 p 1

[M.D. report: "Figures That Cause Headache"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the interruption of economic cooperation between Serbia and Slovenia will cause much damage to the economies of these two republics in particular, but also to other parts of the country. If there is a complete stoppage of these ties between the two republics, these republics would face great troubles: Slovenia would, for instance, have to seek another market for at least 2.2 quintillion dinars that, according to data of 2 years ago, it delivered annually to the Serbian market. Serbia would have to seek some other market for commodities and services of the value of 1.39 quintillion, that it sold to Slovenia at that time.

If these data express the level of economic ties, how long is needed to establish those ties with other partners and is that at all possible? This is just one of many questions that have to be answered primarily by economic organizations in these two republics.

Slovene Opposition 'More Aggressive'

AU2012122289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Dec 89 p 5

[D. Draskovic Report: "Haste of 'Realists'"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 13 Dec—With the arrival of Dr Joze Pucnik as the head of the Slovene Social-Democratic Alliance, and shortly to the position of leading personality in the association of alternative alliances, the Slovene opposition has expressed itself far more coherently and at the same time more aggressively as an opposition. Such was also the case at today's press conference at which representatives of the Social-Democratic Alliance, the Slovene Democratic Alliance, and the Slovene Christian Alliance, in the presence of the president of the Slovene Peasant Alliance, presented an outline of their oppositional activity. This can be reduced to a single sentence: Confederation or the secession of Slovenia.

The Slovene Government was reproached for not having introduced effective countermeasures even 10 days after the boycott's imposition. The discussion on this subject in the Slovene Assembly, in the alternative movements' view, was vague. Instead of effective measures, the Slovene Government still places its trust in Yugoslavia and the party's exclusive right to decide. Dr Joze Pucnik added to all of this that this makes the cultural as well as material collapse of the Slovene nation obvious. Pucnik said that the opposition views all of this realistically, while official policy holds a romanticized view. According to Pucnik, the opposition favors acting at once, while the official side may do so in the course of 10 years.

The decision of the United States State Department to support Yugoslavia seems not to have pleased the representatives of Demos [Slovene opposition group]. Viktor Blazic, president of the Christian Democrats, said that it is about time that the West stopped trying to save us from collapse. Dr Dimitrij Rupel stressed that THE WALL STREET JOURNAL is the only American paper that is explicitly on the Slovene side. He came out with the almost unbelievable assertion about THE NEW YORK TIMES: "They support Serbian policies because Belgrade has bought them off."

The foundation of the Democratic Party in Belgrade has not enthused the representatives of the Slovene opposition. Viktor Blazic has already concluded that it is a question of "centralist pluralism, which will attempt to turn the Slovene opposition into a subcommittee, while the Slovene opposition is a sovereign opposition."

Belgrade Youths Boycott SAWP Meeting

AU1812120689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 89 p 5

[J.R. report: "Young People Boycott Meeting of Socialist Alliance City Committee"]

[Text] Belgrade, 7 Dec—Dissatisfied with their elder colleagues in the Belgrade Socialist Alliance of Working People [SAWP] and their clearly announced demands, the delegates of the Belgrade Federation of Socialist Youth [FSY] to the SAWP City Committee sent the following statement today to the session of the largest national front organization:

"We inform you that the delegates of the Belgrade FSY City Committee to the Belgrade SAWP City Committee will not take part in the proceedings of tomorrow's session of the SAWP City Committee, because the Presidium of the Belgrade SAWP City Committee has not even after 1 month replied to the questions posed by the Presidium of the Belgrade FSY City Committee regarding malpractices in the electoral procedure. The delegates' move proceeds from the stand of the Presidium of the Belgrade SFY City Committee that further participation by delegates from the SFY City Committee in the SAWP City Committee is conditional on these questions being resolved.

"We consider that he evasion of open dialogue on these questions represents gross disregard for the democratic principles on which we are founded."

More Albanian Pressure on Serbs, Montenegrins

LD2712092689 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Pristina, Dec 26 (TANJUG)—Intensified actions by Albanian separatists and their pressure on Serbs and Montenegrins who are still moving out of Kosovo remains as the biggest problems of Serbia's southern province—it was assessed today at several political meetings in Kosovo.

At a meeting between Jelena Milojevic, president of the Socialist Alliance of Yugoslavia, and the leadership of this massive political organization in Kosovo, it was said that Albanian separatists have been increasingly aggressive over the past nine months when 16-attacks on Serbs and Montenegrins were registered, followed by three [word indistinct] of Serbian and Montenegrin women and 190 attacks on their property. In this period, Albanian separatists set twenty fires and committed 43 acts of sabotage in the province.

The leadership of the Socialist Alliance of Kosovo charged certain republican leaderships in Yugoslavia and certain opposition forces in the country with lending support to Albanian separatists, obviously meaning here primarily the Slovenian and Croatian leaderships.

Albanians Receive Prison Sentences

LD2612235489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1546 GMT 26 Dec 89

[Text] Prizren, December 26 (TANJUG)—The district court in Prizren, town in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, has sentenced to three-year prison terms, each, Rifat Didici, 27, Bakija Hodza, 22, and Sedat Zumici, 20, all three residents of Prizren, for counter-revolutionary activities against the social order. The court has sentenced Jahir Krasnici, 24, to two years in prison and Faik Krasnici, 24, to a six-month prison sentence. Both Jahid and Dusan Krasnici are from the village of Dusanovo.

The sentenced had taken part in the demonstrations staged by ethnic-Albanian separatists in Kosovo in March this year. They had put up barricades in order to obstruct the police.

Ivangrad Miners End Strike 5 Jan

LD0501204290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1703 GMT 5 Jan 90

[Text] Ivangrad, 5 jan (TANJUG)—The strike of the coal miners from Ivangrad, which started on 28 December, ended today about 1600. The decision to end the strike was reached at the gathering in which Drago Sofranac, member of the Montenegrin League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, representatives of the republican trade union, the republican government, the municipal assembly, and socio-political work organizations took part.

The miners were promised considerably higher personal incomes for December than for October—on average 1,400 convertible dinars—if they guaranteed the production of 8,000 tonnes of coal per month. At the same time, it was concluded that a report about what has been accomplished in connection with their nine demands—

which were today assessed as completely justified—is submitted to the miners by the 31 January.

Ljubljana LC Publishes New Weekly

LD0912150789 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 8 Dec 89

[Excerpt] The first number of the weekly magazine, EVROPA DANAS [EUROPE TODAY] published by the Slovene LC [League of Communists] Central Committee was launched in Ljubljana today. The publisher wants the magazine to be expert and pragmatic. The selection of articles in the new magazine follows the program and orientation of this republic's LC. In the first issue, instead of a conventional leading article there are just several ideas of the author, whose signature is shortened to initials—M.K. [passage omitted]

Republics Chamber Adopts 16 Laws 18-21 Dec

Temporary Law on Taxation

LD2212162989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1522 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The law on the taxation system's base, which the Chamber of Republics and Provinces adopted today as a temporary measure, determines the bases of the taxation system: types of taxes, sources, tax payers, and bases for taxes of importance for the functioning of the single Yugoslav market.

The following are among the types of taxes important for the single Yugoslav market's functioning: tax on sales of goods and services, tax on profits made by enterprises, personal income tax, and tax on incomes from international transport activities.

Other Laws

LD2212163289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1721 GMT 21 Dec 89

[Text] Belgrade, 21 Dec (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Republics and Provinces today adopted six temporary measures, among which are the law on the taxation system's base and the law on foreign currency dealings, two very important systemic laws.

With the approval of the republican and provincial assemblies, in the past 4 days this assembly chamber adopted 16 laws and decisions from the latest package of economic policy measures for the next year. Of seven measures proposed by the SFRY Presidency at the behest of the Federal Executive Council, only one has not been adopted; that is the law providing federal funds for the Yugoslav Bank for International Economic Cooperation.

Assembly Chamber Approves New Delegates

LD2312121689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1905 GMT 18 Dec 89

[Summary] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—Today the Chamber of Republics and Provinces and the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly held a joint session at which delegates passed their comments on a speech delivered by Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council.

Before the beginning of the joint session of the two SFRY Assembly chambers the Chamber of Republics and Provinces approved the mandates of newly elected delegates, members of the delegations of the Socialist Republic [SR] of Serbia, the Socialist Autonomous Province [SAP] of Vojvodina, and the SAP of Kosovo, in this assembly chamber. From the Assembly of the Serbian SR mandates were approved for delegates Dr Tomislav Bandin, Dr Budimir Kosutic, Dr Milos Aleksic, Predrag Galovic, Dr Slobodan Unkovic, Slobodan Aleksic, Miroslav Zdravkovic, Branislav Crncevic, Tefik Lugic, Ratko Licina, Todor Popovic, and Dragoslav Pavlovic.

The new delegates in the Yugoslav parliament from Vojvodina are: Obrad Jelic, Mirko Radulovic, Laszlo Guljas, Miroslav Maric, Zoran Krtinic, Ljiljana Lucic, Miodrag Vukotic, and Dragomir Rakic. Mandates for the following delegates from Kosovo were approved: Dimitrije Tasic, Bajram Arifi, Branislav Vitkovic, Daut Jasanica, Garip Hajdini, Dr Fehmi Halbani, Milomir Djurovic, and Gani Miftari.

Today the chamber relieved Dimitrije Tasic of his duties as director general of the Social Accountancy Service of Yugoslavia, as he was elected to a new post as delegate of the Kosovo SAP in the Federal Assembly.

This assembly chamber elected by a majority vote Dragomir Rakic, member of a delegation of the Vojvodina Assembly, as vice president of the Chamber of Republics and Provinces. For this function, for which election was carried out through a secret vote, apart from Rakic, Miomir Vukotic, delegate from the Chamber of Republics and Provinces, also was put forward.

POLITIKA in English To Appear Weekly

AU1812121389 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 28-30 Nov 89 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Consortium for POLITIKA in English Founded"]

[Excerpts] An agreement to found a consortium for POLITIKA in English was signed at the premises of the Politika Newspaper Publishing Organization yesterday. Apart from representatives of the large firms signing the agreement, Radmila Andjelkovic, president of the Serbian Socialist Alliance of Working People Republican Conference; and Milomir Minic, secretary to the Serbian League of Communists Central Committee Presidium, were also present at this event.

POLITIKA in English will appear once a week—the first issue will appear during December—and its purpose is to inform readers abroad about events in Yugoslavia and Serbia. Besides, many great world newspapers produce editions in foreign languages. [passage omitted]

POLITIKA in English will be sold within Yugoslavia and on every continent. Besides topical and analytical articles, POLITIKA in English will introduce many technical, graphic, and artistic innovations: It will be printed in several colors and will include pages in full color. It can already be assumed that it will arouse great interest both at home and on the world market.

Authorities' Attitude to Pluralism Viewed

AU1312182289 Zagreb VJESNIK (PANORAMA SUBOTOM Supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 2 Dec 89 p 2

[Sasa Milosevic commentary "Breath Freshener"]

[Text] Belgrade Radio editor Rade Radovanovic has been summoned to the Palilula Communal Court to appear there as a defendant on 6 December at 0915. On the basis of the report by citizen Snezana Pancic, Radovanovic is charged with "acting as a member of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative [AYDI] and chairing the meeting," that is, the discussion forum entitled "Elections—Yes or No" at the AYDI Debate Club on 2 November at 1700, despite that fact that the AYDI has not been entered in the register of citizens' associations. He can be tried on the basis of Article 78 of the Law on Social Organizations and Citizens' Associations and he can also be sentenced to 60 days in prison for "upsetting the public."

Hiding behind this accusation based on law is the strike by the authorities who are enraged because the AYDI dared voice criticism about the elections in Serbia, elections that were so successful that the turnout in Vojvodina was as much as 102 percent, while Belgrade reached the record of 103 percent. Therefore, the Serbian authorities have established that public criticism voiced at an announced and legitimate meeting means crossing the Rubicon of pluralism, that is, "an overdose" that democratic Serbia cannot stand. However, it would be wrong to think that these farcical elections are a taboo topic. A number of prominent Serbian intellectuals have spoken extremely negatively about them (even a member of "Milosevic's commission," Dr Mijat Damjanovic did so at the AYDI discussion forum). The critical point has been reached; that is, the authorities intervene when this is done by an organization whose primary intention is political activity and whose logic of existence is to play opposition to the ruling oligarchy. Even if there have never been any illusions about the "new Serbian democracy," then there perhaps would be some if one thinks that such a case is a specificity reserved for Serbia alone. One does not have to be very clever to see that this Belgrade triviality, so to speak, is easily applicable to Croatia.

Out of about 10 newly-founded alternative alliances, only one has been legalized, that is, it has been allowed to be registered. After battles lost in court (AYDI), registration organs exceeding legal deadlines (Croatian Social Liberal Alliance), not to mention the cases of the nationalism-tainted Croatian Democratic Community, and Croatian Democratic Alliance, it is clear that here too, pluralism serves rulers mainly as a breath freshener. Instead of legally established rules of the game, implemented here is the "permitted pluralism of the powerful," which has proved that what follows after publicly supporting democracy is usually proving less publicly who is in fact holding power.